

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CALL No. 572.05/M.I.
ACC. No. 31369

D.G.A. 79.

GIPN—S4—2D. G. Arch. N. D./57.—25-9-58—1,00,000.



MAN in INDIA.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological
Science with special Reference
to India.

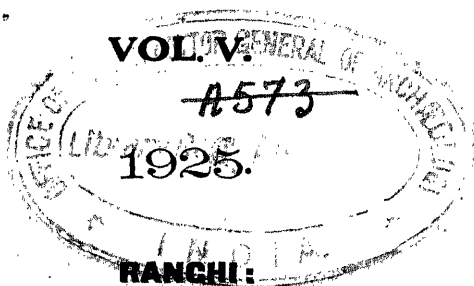
31369

Edited by

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

572.05

M. I.



PRINTED BY ELIAS PURTI AT THE G. E. L. MISSION PRESS.

PUBLISHED BY THE EDITOR AT THE "MAN IN INDIA" OFFICE,

CHURCH ROAD, RANCHI.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL

LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 313 69

Date. 15. 5. 57

Call No. 572-05/M-Z

CONTENTS.

(The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.)

	Pages.
Original Articles :—	
G. S. Ghurye, M. A., Ph. D., (<i>Canab.</i>):—	
Civilization and Fecundity	1-27
Col. T. C. Hodson, I. C. S. (<i>Retd.</i>):—	
Notes on the Marriage of Cousins in India.	163-175
Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B. A., M. R. A. S., :—	
Some Notes About Marriage, Food, Drink, and occupations of Castes affecting Social Status in the Central Provinces.	56-68
D. N. Majumdar, M. A., :—	
Physical Characteristics of the Hos of Kolhan.	83-114
The Birth Ceremonies of the Hos of Kolhan.	176-184
Some Ethnographic Notes on the Hos of Kolhan.	185-192
Some Outdoor and Sedentary Games of the Hos of Kolhan.	193-202
The Hargari and its Origin	203-209
Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L., :—	
On a Meithei Apologue and its Bengali Variant.	69-82
On the Cult of the Jujube-Tree.	115-131
G. Ramadas, B. A., M. R. A. S., :—	
The Aboriginal Tribes in the Ramayana....	28-55
Satindra Narayan Roy, M. A., B. L., :—	
Some Popular Superstitions of Orissa....	210-234

Miscellaneous Articles :—

K. P. Biswas, M. A., :—	
Dewali Puja. 	253-255
P. N. Bose, M. A., :—	
Three Specimens of Santal Drawing ...	235-236
H. C. Das-Gupta, M. A., F. G. S., :—	
Notes on a Type of Sedentary Game Prevalent in Many Parts of India...	244-249
Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, B. A., :—	
Janeu or the Hindu Thread Ceremony...	237-244
S. K. Haldar, B. A., :—	
A Kurmi Marriage. 	255-258
Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B. A., M. R. A. S., :—	
Vows to Propitiate the Goddess of Small Fox	258-260
Tantia Bhil 	260-266
P. V. Mayuranthan, B. A., :—	
Teruvan	250-253
S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L., :—	
A Short Note on Musalmani Folk- Medicine 	266-269
Note on a Tamil Cumulative Folktale of the Old Dame Lousy Type. ...	269-272
Note on a recent instance of the Folk- belief that the Water-Goddess demands Human Sacrifices... ...	272-276
S. T. Mose, M. A., F. Z. S., :—	
Crab in the Panchatantra	236-237
Anthropological Notes and News :—	132-141
Current Anthropological Literature :—	161-162, 277-279
Notices of Books :—	142-160, 280-307

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. V. } MARCH & JUNE, 1925. { Nos. 1 & 2.

I. CIVILIZATION AND FECUNDITY.

By

G. S. GHURYE, *Ph. D. (Cantab).*

(Reader in Sociology, University of Bombay).

Sociologists and biologists alike, since the time of Spencer, have occasionally tried to discover some relation between the reproductive powers of man and civilization, whole or some aspect of it. Spencer, regarding individuation as one of the most characteristic marks of advancing civilization, opined that with progressive individuation there had been a decrease in the reproductive power of man. This view has been much criticised especially as regards the vagueness of the concept of individuation. Recently Carr-Saunders has restricted his inquiry as regards the reproductive power to that of woman alone, as the same power of the male does not show any variation nor has it any appreciable influence on the productive powers of woman. This capacity of woman to bear children he terms fecundity. Though making one of the characters, between which he seeks to establish a relation, more definite, Carr-Saunders enormously widens the other character, taking the

whole of the complex called civilization. He maintains the thesis that fecundity has increased with civilization.

Before proceeding with the detailed consideration of the grounds of his contention, it is necessary to see how complex is the concept of civilization. Civilization includes the growth of skill as applied (1) to the production of food and the necessities, thus rendering their supply more regular, (2) to the production of comforts and luxuries, (3) to the creation of works of art—both literary and plastic, and (4) to the building up of scientific knowledge etc. It also comprehends the development of personality, the rise of the great industry and the great city with the consequent nervous strain and the frequent cinema-theatres and cheap novels to relieve it, also various usages. As the concept of civilization is so wide, while trying to establish any relation between civilization and any other more or less defined character, we must define the peculiar aspect of this complex idea that we wish to pick up for enquiry; otherwise any generalisation that we may make, even though based on figures, cannot be said to be scientific.

Further if we find any change in fecundity accompanying different stages in civilization we must make it clear whether we look upon such a change as a modification only, which is present in any civilizational stage, when the factor, with which it is correlated, is present, and absent when the latter does not exist; or a genetic change which is so radical that in certain communities it persists even in the absence of its correlate.

Carr-Saunders in one place seems to single out the fact of regularity of food-supply as the character with which fecundity bears the relation which is sought to be proved. ¹ Yet the following remarks clearly show that in the actual investigation of the problem he sets to himself, he has the whole complex of civilization in view. Firstly, with certain reservations, he considers the primitive races to be representative of the prehistoric man of Europe. He observes, "They represent 'relicts' of stages of culture through which the civilized races have passed..... Though we can not think of the Tasmanians and Australians as actual relicts of the Neanderthal racial type, which we know in Europe, we may think of Australian culture in its broad general features as representative of the Middle Palaeolithic". ² Secondly, he regards countries like China and India as intermediate between the prehistoric peoples of Europe, represented by modern primitive peoples, and the European people, also referred to as "modern civilized races". ³

As regards the nature of the change in fecundity, once he clearly maintains that it is only a modification. "Since the time of prehistoric man fecundity has increased—this increase being apparently in the main in the nature of a modification due to the changed conditions of life". ⁴ But in other places he seems to contemplate a genetic change; for on this assumption alone we can properly understand the following remarks of his: "Additional support to the view that fecundity has increased with civilization is given by certain

other types of evidence. In the first place, it appears to be a fact that the reproductive organs of the more primitive races of mankind are smaller and in all respects less well-developed than those of civilized races. It is not meant that the organs differ qualitatively in any way; they are merely smaller relatively to the other organs than among civilized races. It is doubtful how we should interpret these facts; but it does not seem unreasonable to assume a connection between a lesser development of the reproductive organs and a lower degree of fecundity". ⁵

Leaving these fundamental considerations aside, Carr-Saunders's position may be thus summarised: Fecundity, meaning thereby "power of reproduction as measured by the number of ripe ova produced" has increased with civilization. Nature-folk, practising hunting, fishing or a rude type of agriculture, who may roughly be taken to be representatives of the prehistoric peoples of Europe in their culture conditions, show a fecundity lower than that of the modern European peoples. Peoples of ancient civilizations, like those of India and China, who may be taken to typify the intermediate stage of culture, are more fecund than nature-folk, but less so than the European peoples. Finally, modern European peoples, among themselves, show "no differences in fecundity".

The nature of the principal evidence on which this generalisation is based is not very satisfactory. First, about the nature-folk or primitive peoples: Here Carr-Saunders has to depend upon mere

observations of travellers as far as they are available, the result being that comparatively few peoples can be taken into consideration. Further, he omits altogether pastoral and higher agricultural peoples. The observations of travellers refer to the number of children seen in a family, rendering them of no account in a scientific investigation of a statistical nature. First, we cannot be sure, in such cases, that the families are complete, i. e., the woman was past her child-bearing age. Secondly, travellers cannot have made any allowance for the various usages that prevail amongst such peoples and which are likely to have more or less marked effect on the number of living children in a family at any time. Thus the usages, that are rampant among these peoples and which affect the number of living children, viz., abortion, and infanticide⁶ are not given any weight. Though the reproductive powers of a people may be very great, yet if, under the influence of some sentiment, they practised abortion and infanticide on a large scale, the travellers would very likely meet with only a small number of living children in each family. Thirdly, such observations cannot have taken notice of other and natural agencies for the elimination of young life, like miscarriage, still-births, and infant-mortality. Hence it would be very unwise to take these figures, given by travellers, as an indication of the fecundity of these peoples. Carr-Saunders himself is quite aware of this defect in the evidence. He remarks: "For the most part these

observations have reference only to the number of children seen alive, and therefore, are not even a measure of the fertility—far less a measure of fecundity".⁷ Further, if reliance can be placed on such evidence then the observations of Benjamin Franklin about the fecundity of the Europeans, made in the middle of the eighteenth century, go to indicate that European fecundity was generally lower than that of many primitive peoples or at best equal to theirs. He says: "If it be reckoned there (in Europe) that there is but one marriage per annum among one hundred persons, perhaps we may reckon two; and if in Europe they have four births to a marriage (many of their marriages being late)" etc.⁸

On the other hand, such general statements regarding the prolificity of primitive peoples are not wanting. Westermarck supplies us with some references to remarks 'where primitive women "are stated to be more or less prolific".⁹ About the Australians, N. W. Thomas writes: "Although owing to infanticide, the number of children reared was probably small, there is no reason to suppose that the blacks, who are dying out fast, thanks to European vices, are at all un-prolific; the largest family on record was borne by a woman named Jenny, a Victorian, who was the proud possessor of thirteen olive branches".¹⁰

As regards the peoples of the intermediate stage, Car-Saunders has been able to deal with only two—those of China and of India. In the case of China the evidence is mostly vague.

Further, he does not advance any data to show that the fecundity of the Chinese and the Indians is higher than that of the primitive peoples, but perhaps takes the difference as proved. Though he lumps together China and India, presumably because, according to him, their fecundities are similar, yet he has not tried to uphold this view by any figures. Nay, he has actually failed to realise the significance, from this point of view, of the figures for China and India respectively that he has quoted. The crude birth-rate for India calculated on 1000 of the whole population is 38.59, while in the case of China it is "asserted" to approach 50. He dismisses the Chinese figure with the following remark: "Exact figures are, however, lacking. There is no doubt that the corrected birth-rate would be much less".¹¹ If it is borne in mind that the marital conditions as regards frequency, age, etc. in China are similar to those in India there is not much probability of the great disparity between the crude birth-rates being substantially wiped off by the correcting factor that is used for getting the corrected birth-rate. On the other hand, many a traveller has testified to the enormous fecundity of the Chinese. "European observers picturesquely report that children in many parts of China are born like flies and die like flies".¹²

India furnishes us with more definite data. Carr-Saunders draws upon P. K. Wattal¹³ for his information. He quotes from him to the effect that the number of children per 1000 wives aged

15-45 in India and in England respectively is 160 and 196, ¹⁴ from which he jumps to the conclusion that English fecundity is higher than Indian. But he fails to notice the figure worked out by Wattal for Burma on page 7 of the same work. The number of children per thousand wives of 15-45 years of age in Burma is 229, a fact very awkward for the generalisation formulated by Carr-Saunders, this figure being far higher than the English one, viz., 196. But in the calculation of this rate for India, Wattal has fallen into a mistake. He takes the number of births registered in British India for the year 1911 and the number of married women from the table in the Census of India for 1911, which gives the figures for the whole of India, including the Indian States. If we take the number of married females of 15-45 years of age in British India, the average number of children per 1000 such women comes out to be approximately 206 and not 160 as Wattal has it.

Let us further investigate the method of arriving at these figures. Wattal takes the number of the births registered in 1911 and divides it by the number of wives aged 15-45 in that year, thus giving us the average number of children per one thousand wives of the age-group 15-45. The following points will show how unsatisfactory this method is. It takes for granted that registration of births is perfect, which, as far as India is concerned, is far from reality. The Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India observes: "Birth-registration is notably defective, and it is

probable that the registration of female births suffers more than that of male".¹⁵ Dr. Brahmachari made a special inquiry into the accuracy of registration for a selected area in Bengal and the conclusion to which he comes is: "About 50 per cent can be added to recorded birth and death rates to obtain true rates for Bengal".¹⁶ The Health Commissioner remarks thereupon: "The degree of inaccuracy discovered in registration is startling, but it is doubtful if the conclusions can be applied to the whole of India where villages are more compact". Yet an independent investigation carried on in Baroda by Mr. S. Mukerjee with the help of mathematics upholds Brahmachari's conclusions. He observes: "We have found that the births are more unsatisfactorily registered than deaths. According to the estimate we have made the registered annual births are out of the truth by about 56 per cent",¹⁷ i. e. the registered births fall short of the actual births by 56 per cent. We must also remember that this inquiry excluded the still-births. Still-births are recorded over a very small area.¹⁸

As registration of births is so defective, we may better use the data about children under one year furnished by the Census Reports. Children that are recorded as under one year in any particular year of the Census must have all been born during the same year, though, of course, they cannot be the whole number of children that were born in that year. They are the children

that survived the ravages of disease during their first year of life. "About a quarter of the children die within twelve months".¹⁹ Hence to get at the actual number of children born during the year of the Census we must add to the number of children recorded in the Census Report a number equal to one-third of the recorded figure. Taking this corrected figure and the number of wives aged 15-45 as given in the Census Report—a procedure not entirely free from drawbacks,—we have the average of 238 children per thousand married women of the age-group 15-45 as against the English figure of 196.

Secondly, this method of computing fecundity does not make allowance for abnormal economic conditions that may have prevailed during the year. The number of births in a community in any given year depends not only upon the number of wives aged 15-45, as is assumed in the method under consideration, but also on the composition of this group of wives based on their age at marriage and duration of marriage. But no allowance is made for this in the method used by Wattal and followed by Carr-Saunders.

The following table, which gives some figures that I worked out by the same method as that of Wattal for India (the various Provinces and the Native States,) will show that the results according to this method of computing fecundity are, after all, neither so smooth nor so definite as Carr-Saunders makes them out to be. The number of children taken as the basis of this calculation

is that recorded in the Indian Census Report of 1911 as having been under one year of age, without the necessary correction for the deaths that occurred among infants during the year being introduced.

Number of Children per 1000 wives aged 15-45.

India	Madras	United Provinces.	Bengal	Bombay states	Bombay	Rajputana Agency	Central India Agency
179	157	172	178	179	182	197	200

Assam	Baroda State	Punjab	Kashmir	
201	201	243	248	

Bearing in mind that the number of children per thousand wives aged 15-45 in England is 196, we can perceive that the differences in fecundity amongst the various Provinces of India are far greater than that between India and England. Further, the Animists of India, who would be better classed with the primitive peoples than with Indians, show an average of 191 children per thousand wives of 15-45 years of age, which is higher than that for the whole of India and much higher than that for either the United Provinces or Madras. It is much nearer to the English figure than to the Indian. These considerations ought to establish clearly the futility of enunciating a generalisation as regards change in fecundity

on the basis of the method of computing upheld by Carr-Saunders.

Further to substantiate his conclusion Carr-Saunders thinks it necessary to prove that the European peoples among themselves show no differences in fecundity. He refers to the following statement of Newsholme and Stevenson for his support. It runs: "There is no evidence of difference of race-fertility among these civilized races".²⁰ Whatever the authors of the paper may mean by their statement, the following table, with reference to which the above statement is made, and which gives the birth-rate per thousand of population, corrected by the method devised by the authors, shows considerable differences of fertility, in so far as the figures are any measure thereof.

**Legitimate Corrected Birth-rate for 1881
per thousand of population.**²¹

Bavaria	Belgium	Norway	Scotland	German Empire	Sweden	Denmark	Saxony	Ireland
39.55	38.06	37.59	36.47	36.44	35.56	35.56	35.05	34.59

Italy	Austria	England and Wales
33.40	32.86	32.73

Various other sources furnish us with figures which prove the existence of differences of fecundity among the European peoples. The following

table of figures, arrived at by the same method of computing fecundity as that approved by Carr-Saunders in the case of India, is very conclusive on this point.

Legitimate live-births per thousand married women aged 15 to 49. ²²

Period	England & Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Denmark	German Empire	Holland
1876-85	250	271	250	244	268	293
1886-95	229	255	245	235	258	286

Period	Belgium	Italy	Norway	Sweden	
1876-85	264	248	262	240	
1886-95	236	249	259	231	

As regards the United States of America the registration statistics of the State of New Hampshire give the average annual number of births per thousand married women of 15-45 years, from 1898-1902, as 115.3 for the native born women and 236.8 for the foreign born women. ²³ Or, again, Carr-Saunders could have found in the following figures, regarding the average number of births to a marriage, worked out by a totally different method and quoted by Newsholme, ²⁴ a refutation of his opinion as regards the fecundity of the European peoples.

Number of births to a marriage in 1876.

Italy	Prussia	Sweden	Netherlands	England	Belgium	Spain [1870]
5.15	4.92	4.84	4.83	4.63	4.48	4.47

Denmark	Austria	
4.24	3.73	

Above I pointed out a defect in the method approved by Carr-Saunders for computing fecundity, viz., that it did not make allowance for the differences in the age-constitution of the group of wives aged 15-45 in different communities. Newsholme and Stevenson have devised a method which enables them to obviate this difficulty. The figure, thus obtained, they call the standard birth-rate. "Standard birth-rate takes into account both the ages and the number of the wives and the resulting factor corrects for the both". ²⁵

The following table of figures, arrived at by this method, establishes the fact of considerable differences in fertility among the various European peoples.

Standard legitimate birth-rate based on the experience of married women aged 15-45 ²⁶.

(Unless otherwise stated the year is 1881)

New Zealand	Italy	France	New South Wales	England & Wales	Austria [1880]	German Emp. [1880]
36.90	36.80	35.38	34.77	34.34	34.30	32.25

Victoria	Scotland	Denmark (1880)	Belgium (1880)	Norway (1875)	Sweden (1880)	Ireland
30·22	29·57	28·69	26·70	25·80	25·71	24·06

There is one fundamental assumption in the whole argument of Carr-Saunders which, though I cannot here deal with at great length yet must be slightly touched upon. It is about the evolutionary sequence of human history—viz; that the primitive peoples of to-day are approximately good representatives of the peoples of the Stone Age in civilization and economic conditions. This supposition has been stoutly opposed, during the last few years, by many eminent anthropologists. Further, as regards economic conditions, we must remember that there are such great differences in the habitat of the various peoples that there are bound to be considerable variations as regards the ease with which food can be procured. Hence many of the primitive peoples of to-day are likely to be much better placed than the Palæolithic man of Europe. This variety in natural environment leads one to expect similar differences in the ease of procuring food among the various primitive peoples. As Heape observes: "Among different savage peoples there is the same variation of environment which civilised communities experience. Some, for long ages, experience great hardships and the struggle for existence is strenuous, while others inhabit areas where Nature is prodigal, strife rare and life comparatively easy".²⁷ As good examples of such variations we may

instance the Australians—the differences in their conditions according as they inhabit either the more fertile coast lands or the more arid interior—as well as the hunting and fishing Chukchi of the coasts of North-eastern Asia and the bison-hunters of North America.

To escape such serious objections what Carr-Saunders ought to have done is to take one or more countries of Western Europe and establish a correlation between the rise of culture and betterment of economic conditions on the one hand and increase of fecundity on the other. Thus, in the case of England, as famines have been unknown since 1316, ²⁸ he ought to have shown that fecundity in England after the 14th century has been greater than before when the economic conditions were so bad that great famines were not quite rare. But materials for such a comparison are not available. The following data for Sweden clearly indicate that during one century, before the general fall in the birth-rate in Europe during the third-quarter of the last century, there has been no tendency towards increase of fecundity in Sweden, as judged from the number of legitimate births per thousand married women of the age-period 15-50.

**Sweden: Legitimate births per thousand
wives aged 15-50. ²⁹**

1756-65	-66-75	-76-85	-86-95	-96-1805	-06-15	-16-25	-26-35
251	240	242	245	232	232	253	240

-36-45	-46-55	
235	241	

The least objectionable method to determine the fecundity of any community for the sake of comparing it with that of any other is to take a very large number of women, who have had a continuous married life till they had exhausted their powers of reproduction, and to determine how many pregnancies they had. In such investigations, generally the age-limit, at which the reproductive powers of women are supposed to have come to an end, is put as 45. I shall adduce grounds to show that such a procedure is erroneous. Firstly, it may be that, among some peoples, women cease reproduction at thirty-five or soon after that. In these cases the limit at forty-five means that we shall be able to consider comparatively few cases of completed marriage and that we shall thereby be arriving at the figure for fecundity, which is more abnormal than normal, as the women who normally cease reproduction at thirty-five cannot have been considered in obtaining the figure for fecundity. Among Tasmanians women "ceased to bear at or soon after the age of thirty-five".³⁰ There is some reason to think that in India the conditions approximate to the Tasmanian experience. The Census Reporter for Travancore observes: "The enquiries were confined to married women or widows of not less than 35

years of age. The age thirty-five was fixed, as births after that age are rare among Indian women".³¹ Secondly, in the countries of Western Europe, where women marry at a comparatively late age, with the age limit at forty-five, a part of the fertile period of a women's life is sure to be left out; for "a woman's fertility at the latter ages appears to be greater, the later she was married".³² That in England not a negligible proportion of their total number of children is borne by women after the age of forty-five will be rendered clear by the following table.

Duration of Marriage	Number of children born per 100 families. ³³			
	Wife's age at Marriage.			
	15-19	20-24	25-29	
25-30	741	583	423	
30-40	798	640	473	
40-50	844	705	530	
50-60	863	738	566	

Hence, to be more accurate, we must select a criterion of the cessation of reproduction other than the one of the age-limit of forty-five. We shall avoid most of the methodological defects, if we include in our inquiry all married women of

more than thirty years of age, whose last child was born a certain number of years ago. How many years ago the last child of a woman should have been born in order that we regard her as one, whose reproductive powers are exhausted, should depend upon the experience of the particular community concerned. Perhaps it may be found that a woman who bore her last child five or seven years back is not very likely to continue bearing children. Even with the precautions the method proposed is not entirely free from faults. Some of the naturally small families will be excluded from our enquiry; because as Snow observes: "parents of naturally small families do not survive to old age in the same proportion as do other parents"; ³⁴ and it is not sure that the last child of such a woman would have been born five or seven years before her death so that she would be included in our survey. But, I think, the error introduced by this defect will not be great.

Fecundity of any community, thus determined, is one that is affected not only by the economic conditions but also by the social customs of the particular community. Some of these social customs, like those of premature copulation, prolonged lactation, or conscious birth-control militate against fecundity. In India it is well-known that at the time of her marriage a girl is premature. In some parts of the country, like Bengal, cohabitation begins immediately after marriage, while in other parts, where there prevails the custom of a

second ceremony of either sending the girl to her husband's or of consummation, copulation does not take place when the girl is premature but immediately after the appearance of the first signs of puberty. It may, therefore, be generally stated that girls begin their effective marriage before they have attained full physical development. Carr-Saunders ³⁵ makes the following pertinent remark: "It is known that early intercourse is injurious to the general health, and it is not difficult to understand in a general way how, if this is so, the reproductive functions would be adversely affected". The practice of prolonged lactation is recognised by Carr-Saunders as one of the methods of restricting number. ³⁶ He refers to the extension of lactation "for a considerable length of time" among the Asiatic races and says: "The Japanese sometimes do not wean their children until the fourth year". ³⁷ To this I must add the following observation about China made by Mr. A. H. Smith: "Many children continue to nurse at the breast for a series of years and whenever they cry this is the sole method of effectually quieting them". ³⁸ In India generally lactation is continued till an advanced stage of the next pregnancy or until the child is two or three years old. In Western Europe conscious limitation of family plays such a large part that it is well nigh impossible to know the fecundity of the people.

Even with this method, therefore, what we can do is to compare the fecundity of one com-

munity as determined by the particular economic conditions and social customs, some of which are definitely detrimental to high reproduction, with that of another group either similarly circumstanced or with one in which the restricting factors are non-existent. Anyway such a comparison is not very enlightening as we compare units that are either not similar or in which factors operate whose unequal effects it is very difficult to calculate. The only clear case where we can compare similar units as regards the data about fecundity is that of the countries of Western Europe before the third quarter of the last century, whereafter the fall in birth-rate, probably an effect of conscious birth-control, occurred.

Below I bring together much of the available data about fecundity as determined by the number of children borne by women who had a married life till forty-five years of their age or who were past child-bearing. Carr-Saunders gives us some figures for primitive peoples. In Western Australia forty-one women, past child-bearing had, on an average, 4.6 children each, while in Central Australia, ³⁹ observers have found the average to be 5. Among the Yakuts ⁴⁰ of Northern Asia Jochelson found the average number of children to a married woman above forty years old to be more than five. Nine hundred and eighty-four Bantu women, all of whom might not have ceased bearing children, had 5521 children, giving the average of 5.6 children, to every married woman. ⁴¹ The state-

ment of Eastman ⁴² about the North American Indians, that it was customary to limit the children of one mother to 5, leads one to infer that more than 5 children per married woman was not an infrequent phenomenon. The Indian Census for 1921 provides us with similar data at least for some of the provinces of that country. In Baroda 28,011 cases of women, who had attained 45 years of age, were investigated and only live births were noted. "Normally only the female who was continuously married to one husband and who had her husband alive at the time of the enquiry was the type of cases taken up". ⁴³ Out of the total number there were 22,465 women, who had begun their effective marriage at 13 or 14 years of their age. The average number of children per such completed marriage was 5.24. In the Punjab there were examined 34,561 cases of marriages which had lasted for 30 years and over. They gave an average of 5.68 children per each woman. ⁴⁴ The enquiry included only children born alive and not also the still-born ones. The Bengal inquiry was more comprehensive and included also the still-born babes. Examination of 10,000 families, in which the wives were married for thirty-three years and over, gives us the average of 6.34 children per completed family. ⁴⁵ 160 Chinese women of over 50 years of age had 1169 children giving an average of 7.3 children per completed marriage. ⁴⁶ About America Hoffmann finds from the study of a number of genealogies that the average number of children per family was nearly 7 in the 18th

century and that that 47 average sank to nearly 5 in the first half of the 19th century. ⁴⁷ According to Stevenson ⁴⁸ the average number of children in England to every marriage contracted during 1861-71 and lasting 40-50 years is 6.79 while to one contracted during 1851-61 and lasting 50-60 years it is 7.28. The averages for the different classes, into which he divides the English population, range in the former case from 6.07 to 7.77. Marriage ⁴⁹ of 25-30 years' duration had an average of 7.41 and 5.83 children per married woman according as her age at marriage was 15-19 or 20-24. In Scotland, women, who were married during 1861-65 and were 20-24 aged at their marriage, had borne on an average, when they had attained the age of 45 and over, 7.80 children each. ⁵⁰ A woman married 17 years old, when she had attained 45 years and over she had borne 9.02 children. ⁵¹ The predicted fertility of a woman married at 17 years of her age and when her marriage had continued for 20 years, was 8.81. ⁵² In New South Wales we have 8.32 where the Scottish figure stands at 7.80. In Australia ⁵³ the average number of children borne by wives, whose age at the birth of their last child was 40-44 and whose marriage had endured for 25-26 years and who, therefore must have been married at 15-18 years, was 10.45.

These figures show that the Scotch differ from the Anglo-Saxons in fecundity and further that among the various off-shoots of the Anglo-Saxons themselves there are great differences in fecundity.

The Chinese may be said to be approximating to the English conditions while at least some parts of India come nearer the English figure than the figures for the primitive peoples. Some parts of India seem to show fecundities similar to that of the primitive peoples. I do not think that, under these circumstances, we can draw any such conclusion as that propounded by Carr-Saunders.

That variations in conditions of work and supply of necessities may lead to differences in fecundity has been recognised by biologists. Thus W. Heape observes: ⁵⁴ "Increase of luxury tends to reduce both the inclination to breed and the power of producing offspring among women, while it increases the sexual activity of man.....Such is the case both among the savages of Australia and our own people; and domesticated animals are subject to the same laws.....Hardships and strain of any system of organs in the woman checks the functional activity of those organs which enable her to store nutriment for the embryo, and an inefficient supply of stored energy interferes both with her sexual activity and her ability to withstand the strain of maternity". This proposition is quite different from that of Carr-Saunders; for, if this were true, differential fecundity won't necessarily be traced along either national or racial lines but only along the economic. Such a theory more or less assumes equal fecundity, within certain limits, for the whole of the human species, and traces the observed differences to economic conditions. Hence even in England one

may be prepared to find differences in fecundity among the different classes in so far as their economic status affects their conditions of work and supply of necessities.

If, as some biologists ⁵⁵ suggest, the rate of reproduction is so tuned to the average expectation of life that with greater expectation of life there is reduction in the "average number of children", then we have good reason to expect that in the case of Western Europe at least fecundity should tend to decrease; for "whereas in England at the age of 15 the expectation of life for boys is 45 years and for girls 48 years, in Rome it was 20 and 15 years respectively". ⁵⁶ In England the expectation of life has been on the increase during the last fifty years.

Conclusions.

I have tried to show: (1) that the nature of evidence adduced by Carr-Saunders for substantiating his thesis about fecundity, is such that a scientific generalization cannot be based thereupon; (2) that even with the defective method, the then available evidence, if properly sifted, would have proved the unsoundness of Carr-Saunders's conclusion; (3) that better methods of computing fecundity establish differences in fecundity among the European peoples themselves and generally do not support the thesis that fecundity has increased with civilization; (4) that, on the other hand, there is some reason to think that fecundity might have decreased in European

countries with the progressively greater expectation of life; (5) that fecundity may be conditioned by economic factors; but that differences in fecundity, then, will be found not only among various nationalities or races but also among the different classes of the population of one nation.

CIVILIZATION AND FECUNDITY.

(REFERENCES.)

- (1) Carr-Saunders: "The Population Problem". (1922) p. 101. (2) op. cit. p. 131. (3) op. cit. p. 100. (4) op. cit. p. 241. (5) op. cit. p. 97. (6) op. cit. p. 214 and Westermarck: "History of Human Marriage" (1921) vol. III, p. 79. (7) op. cit. p. 98. (8) quoted by Harold Wright: "Population" (1923) p. 15. (9) Westermarck III, p. 78 f. n. 2. (10) N. W. Thomas: "Natives of Australia" (1906) p. 177. (11) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 256. (12) Harold Cox: "The Problem of Population" (1922) p. 23. (13) P. K. Wattal: "The Population Problem in India" (1916). (14) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 100. (15) Public Health Commissioner's Annual Report (1922) vol. I, p. 84. (16) *ibid.* p. 86. (17) Baroda Census Report, 1921 p. 153. (18) Public Health Commissioner's Report p. 88. (19) Census of India 1911, vol. I, p. 152. (20) J. R. S. S. (1906) p. 64. (21) *ibid.* p. 61. (22) A. D. Webb: "The New Dictionary of Statistics" (1911) p. 65. (23) S. J. Holmes: "The Trend of the Race" (1921) p. 125. (24) A. News-holme: "Vital Statistics" (1899) p. 69. (25) J. R. S. S. (1906) p. 38. (26) *ibid* pp. 72 & 82. (27)

Walter Heape: "Sex Antagonism" (1913) p. 52. (28) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 249. (29) Harold Wright, op. cit. p. 106. (30) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 142. (31) Travancore Census Report, 1921, p. 64. (32) Udny Yule in J. R. S. S. (1906) p. 116 f. n. 24. (33) Stevenson in J. R. S. S. (1920) p. 423. (34) J. R. S. S. (1914) p. 314. (35) op. cit. p. 104. (36) op. cit. pp. 137, 165, 174 etc. (37) *ibid.* p. 254. (38) "Village Life in China" (1899) p. 274. (39) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 142. (40) *ibid.* p. 196. (41) *ibid.* p. 102. (42) "Interracial Problems" edited by G. Spiller (1911) p. 371. (43) Baroda Census Report for 1921, pp. 207-08 and 212. (44) Panjab Census Reports for 1921, pp. 253, 274. (45) Bengal Census Report for 1921, p. 222. (46) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 260; also A. H. Smith, op. cit., p. 308. (47) S. J. Holmes, op. cit., p. 126. (48) J. R. S. S. (1920) p. 414. (49) *ibid.* p. 423. (50) J. R. S. S. (1914) p. 284. (51) *ibid.* p. 265. (52) *ibid.* p. 271. (53) H. Knibbs: "The Mathematical Theory of Population" (1917) p. 280. (54) Heape, op. cit. pp. 199 and 200. (55) The Times, London, January 1st, 1923, Article on "Longevity". (56) Carr-Saunders, op. cit. p. 246.

II. THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES IN THE RĀMĀYANA.

By G. RAMADAS, B. A., M. R. A. S.,

The Ramayana of Valmiki is generally considered to be a poem of no historical value. This opinion is mostly due to the supposition that it is filled with characters that are quite different from *bonafide* men. Prof. A. A. Macdonell writes, "The poet knows nothing about the Deccan except that Brahman hermitages are to be found there. Otherwise it is a region haunted by the monsters and fabulous beings with which an Indian imagination would people an unknown land."¹ The orthodox Hindu believes these 'monsters and fabulous beings' had had once real existence in flesh and blood; and they refuse to be convinced by argument. But when the descriptions of these beings, their habits and customs as given in the epic, are studied in the light of the ethnology of the tribes living in India at present, these monsters and fabulous beings transform themselves into real men. This kind of examination has never been made, though attempts have been made to identify the Vedic Dasyus, Anāsās &c with the aboriginal tribes still found in the hills of India. The word Dasyu which is interpreted to be the Vedic form of Dāsa, appears to be a modification of 'Dēsya', (original inhabitant), a name applied to the tribes living in the jungles and hills by the civilized men from the plains. These Dēsyaś still preserve

¹ Imperial Gazetteer of India vol II, p. 238.

the 'early stage of human progress as that ascribed to them by the Vedic poets more than 3000 years ago.' ²

In this paper it is attempted to elucidate the habits and customs of the several tribes that Rāma was made to meet with in his wanderings; and to identify them with the tribes found in India to-day.

From the time the precincts of Kōsala were left, Rāma met with both inimical and friendly tribes. As in the Vedas so in this epic also the tribes that offered opposition to the progress of the Princes of Ayodhya, are called Rākshasā, while those that helped them to subdue the Rākshasas are called Vānaras. The former are said to be living in the forest of *Danḍāka* and the later had their habitats beyond the forest.

The first Rākshasa that confronted the Princes in the forest was Virādha, the type of a tribe that had been almost extinct by the time. He is thus described in the epic (III 2):—

4. Dadars'a giri-s'ringābham purushādāma mahā-
svanam.
Gambhīrāksham mahāsatvama vikatama vishamōdaram.
5. Bhībhatśama vishanam dīrghama vikatama ghōradar-
s'anam.
Vasānam charma-vai-yāghram vasārdama rudhirokshi-
tam.
6. Trāsanama sarva-bhūtanām vyātītāśya-mivāntakama.

Trinsimhā-cha-turō-vyāgrān dvau-Vrikau prishatān-
dasa.

7. Sa-vishānam vasōdishtam gajasya-cha s'iromahān.
Avasajyāyasē s'ulē vinadantam mahā-svanam.

"Vast as some mountain peak in size,
"With mighty voice and sunken eyes,
"Huge, hideous, tall, with monstrous face,
"Most ghastly of his giant race.
"A tiger's hide the Rākshasa wore
"Still reeking with the fat and gore :
"Huge-faced, like him who rules the dead,
"All living things he struck with dread.
"Three lions, tigers four, ten deer
"He carried on his iron spear
"Two wolves, an elephant's head beside
"With mighty tusks which blood-drops dyed. *

Here is a being of the most horrible appearance. There may be a little exaggeration in this description; but to men living in the hills of Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts of the Madras Presidency, the very picture of Virādha presents itself in a hill-man returning with a thigh or head of a bull or buffalo on his shoulder. Black sun-scorched skin, bushy hair, completely nude but for a strip of cloth round his loins, sweat streaming down his body and the bleeding leg or head of the ox on his shoulder, is a common sight in the hill tracts. The above description of Virādha appears to be true to nature for men accustomed

* This and other metrical translations of passages from the Ramayana are taken from Griffith's translation of the 'Ramayana'.

to see the hillman after he has obtained his share of the carcass.

Virādha was clad in skins and the spear was his only weapon. He himself informed Rāma that he was the son of Jaya and Satahradā. Above all these, greater importance is laid on the disposal of his dead body. This enables us to find the race better than thousands of personal descriptions; for, "the race is judged by the views it holds on the futurity of the soul and by the honours it pays to its dead".³ Virādha begs Rama to bury his corpse in a pit, for by so doing he attains salvation (III. 4.)

Avatē-chā-pi mām Rāma prakshipya kus'alee
vraja.

"First under earth my body throw

"Then on thy way rejoicing go",

because—(20) Rākshasām gata-satvānā-mēsha dharma-
sanātanaḥ.

Avatē yē nidhīyantē tēshām lōkā-sanātanaḥ.

["Such is the law ordained of old

"For giants when their days are told:

Their bodies laid in earth, they rise

"To homes eternal in the skies".]

Here Virādha is made to state the Sanātana Dharma of all the Rākshasās. All of them were buried, and burial was the custom of the men of primitive times. "The burial customs certainly express a kind of worship of departed souls which has played and still plays so important a part in the religious ideas of all primitive peoples and is

one of the oldest fundamental notions common to mankind". ⁴

The Rākshasās were the primitive tribes of India. They were the पूर्वदेवाः because they inhabited the country before the advent of the Aryans, the देवाः. That they were created when the world was filled with water is said in *Uttarakanda*, canto 4.

Prajāpatih purā srishtvā hypa-ssalilasambhavah.
Tāsām gōpāyanē satvā-nasrija=tpadma-sambhavah.

Tē satvā=ssatvakartāram Vinītava=dupasthitāh.
Kinkurma iti bhāshantah kshut-pipāsā bhayārditāh.

Prajāpatistu tānyāha satvāni prahasan-niva.
Abhāshya vāchā-yatnēna rakshadhva-miti mānnadāh.
Ityuktā-stē kshudhā-vishthā ambhāmsyādātu=
mudyatah.

Ambhām-syētāni rakshāma uktavanta=stathā-pare.

Jñatvā Prajāpati=stēshā=māha dhātvardha-samyutam
Yakshēti jakshanē dhātu=stathā rakshas-tu pālanāt.

Yakshṇā=dyaksha ityukta=stādā rakshastu pālanāl.
Rakshāmēticha tatrānye jakshāma iti-chāparē.

Bhukshitā bhukshitai=rukta=statastānāha bhūta-kṛt
Rakshāmēti cha yai=ruktam rākshasā=stē bhavantu-
vah.

The Lord of Creation, born in the lotus, created at first the watery world. To protect the waters he created beings; but not knowing what to do, though suffering from hunger and thirst, they prayed to the Creator; He said smilingly, "You must carefully guard (the waters)" Though told so, some, pinched by hunger, began to drink; but the others undertook to keep guard. The

⁴ Harmsworth *History of the World*, vol I.

Creator understood their inclinations and spoke so as to suggest the root meaning of the words; for, 'yaksha' comes from a root which means 'to eat'; while the root of 'raksha' means 'to protect'. So by eating they became *yakshā*; and the others by keeping gaurd became *rakshā*. He said, "those that gaurd, shall be known as *Rakshasā*".]

Those of the created that wished to protect the waters were called *Rākshasā*. This clearly shows that these were the primitive tribes. The *Rāmāyana* tells us that they were of three tribes, each having its own parentage. *Virādha* is the representative of the class that descended from *Joyā* and *S'atahradā*. The second class were the descendants of *Pulastya* and *Diti*. The third and the last class were the children of *Danū*.

To the second class of *Rākshasas* belonged the tribe of *Rāvana*, the lord of *Lankā*. As intimated by *Virādha*, burial was observed by this class; but the poet had no occasion to mention it in particular with regard to this tribe. Once for all he made *Virādha* tell us of a custom common to all *Rākshasas*. Whenever a tribe is found to follow a different one, he does not fail to mention it. Since the *Rākshasā* of *Rāvana* tribe did observe the *Sanātana Dharma* with no change, it was needless to say it over again.

But the funeral of the lord of *Lankā* had to be specially described as his corpse was given *Aryan* rites. The *Aryanised Vibheeshana* did not consent to give such honours to the body of a

त्यक्तधर्मव्रत, क्रूर, वृशंस, अनृत and परदाराभिमर्शन (VI 114-95). *

But Rāma intended to introduce Aryan customs into the Rākshasa race by giving Pitṛimēdha rites to Rāvana, the lord of the class. With this object in view Rāma said, (VI. 114), 'I admit that—

Adharmā-nrita samyuktah kamam tvesha nis'ācharah.
(This Rākshasa had disobeyed the law and was a liar);

but he was—Tējas'vi balavān s'ūra-ssamyugēshu
cha nityas'ah.

(a man of prowess and strength and always a warrior in battles).

S'atakratu mukhai-rdevai-s's'ṛyāte na parājitah.

[It is also heard that he had never been defeated by the gods led by S'atakratu (Indra)]

Mahatmā balasampanno=Rāvano=loka-rāvanah

(Though Ravana had vexed the world, he was illustrious and had great strength)

Moreover,—maraṇāntāni vairāni (all enmity ends with death) and also nivṛttam nah prayōjanam
(our purpose is attained); therefore,—

Avas'yantu kshamam vāchyō mayā tvam

Rakshas'es'vara.

You shall excuse me, O lord of the Rākshasas!, if I speak to you (thus).

And,—Tavāpi mē priyam kāryam; (you must oblige me;) twat probhāvāt-cca mē jitam. (It was by your prowess that I could win). Excuse me and—

* Tyakta-dharma-vrata, krira, nrs'amsa, Anrita and para-dārābhimars'ana.

(one that left the observance of the law ordained, cruel, destructive, a liar, one who touches others' wives).

Kriyatām asya samskārah; [give him (Vedic) funeral rites].

for,—mamā-pyesha yatha tava; (he is as much related to me as he is to you.)

Tvat-sakās'āt-ddas'agreeva-ssamskāram vidhipurvakam
Prāptumarhati dharmajña tvam yas'obhāg-bhavishyati.

(Ravana deserves to receive Vedic funeral rites at your hands. You know the law and you shall obtain fame.)"

Why did Rāma take so much trouble to make the unwilling Vibheeshana give Aryan funerals to the body of Ravana? Was not his object fulfilled with the death of the demon King? By saying मर्यान्तानि वैराणि Rāma expresses a desire to make the Rākshasas friendly to the Aryans. This could be attained by converting them into 'Aryanism'. Since the disposal of corpses was considered to be the most important, it was thought that the whole race would embrace Aryan religion if their lord's body was cremated according to the Vedic rites. Ravana's body was given cremation and the Rākshasas were sought to be Aryanised in culture. Here is found the Aryan system of permanently subduing an inimical people.

Are not the African savages subdued by converting them into Christianity? History tells us that Asoka preached that the conquest by Law of Faith was better than the conquest by arms. This was not a discovery or innovation made by the great Mauryan Emperor. Long before the kingdom of Magadha had its existence, the Aryans of the Punjab recognised its efficacy. (R. V. I. 160.5)

ते नो' मृणानो म'हिनी महि श्रव': क्षत्रं द्यावा पृथिवी
 घासथो बृहत् । येनाभि कृष्टीक्ष्मन'ाम विश्व' इ' पना
 यमोजो अस्मे समि'वताम् ॥

"Praised by us, O Mighty Heaven and Earth, vouchsafe unto us great glory and sublime supremacy; unite us with admirable energy whereby we may ever spread our (religious) race everywhere".

It now clearly appears that Rig Vedic Aryans believed that the 'sublime supremacy' could be obtained only by the spread of their 'religious race'. Rāma also acted on this principle.

Yet in spite of such evidence of a permanent conquest of Lanka by Rāma, it is remarked that Rāma was not described as 'establishing Aryan dominion in the south or as intending to do so'.

The third tribe of Rākshasas is represented by Kabandha, the son of Danu. He had a queer appearance and lived upon every being that came into his embrace. As there was a little difference between the disposal of the dead bodies of this tribe and the Sanātana Dharma of other Rākshasas, the demon had to give instructions with regard to his own funerals. (III. 72.30).

Kintu yāvan-nayā-tyastam savita srānta-vāhanah,
 Tāvan-mām-avatē kshiptvā daha Rāma yadhā-vidhi.

"Now ere with wearied steeds the Sun

"Through western skies his course have run,

"Deep in a pit my body lay

"And burn it in the wonted way".

What that Vidhi was, is to be inferred from the way in which fire was applied to the pyre by Lakshmaṇa (III. 73.2.)

Lakshmaṇastu mahōlkābhi-rjvalitābhi-ssamantatah,
Chitā-mādeepayamāsa sāprajajāla cha sarvatah.

(Then Lakshmaṇa taking brands of burning flame applied fire to every part of the pyre that it might burn as a whole).

Lakshmana took burning brands of fire and placed them on all sides of the pyre that it might burn simultaneously and wholly. This appears to be the Vidhi spoken of by Kabandha.

Even now in India there are tribes that observe this system of funeral. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* describes the funeral rites of the Nayars thus:—

“A small pit about the size of the corpse is dug and across this are placed three long stumps of the plantain tree one at each end and one in the middle, on which as foundation the pyre is laid.....It is a matter of greatest importance that the whole pyre burns at once. The greatest care is taken that it burns as a whole consuming every part of the corpse”.

Thus the three tribes that were inimical to the spread of the Aryan race were vanquished. The Virādha and the Kabandha tribes, which had been already decaying, entirely disappeared from the *Dandaka* forest region after the advent of Rāma. The third one which was numerous and which offered greater resistance was first subdued by force of arms and then were converted into the Aryan faith so that they might not relapse into their primitive habits again.

Then those tribes that offered hospitality to the

Princes, or helped the brothers to overcome the stubborn Rākshasas have to be studied. First of such tribes were the Nishādas that lived between the borders of Kosala and the Ganges.

Sringi-bēra on the Ganges was their chief town and Guha was their lord. The Nishādās were good archers and they were so proud of their archery that they even ventured to oppose Bharata. Their proximity to water and the abundant supply of timber in the forest made them good boat-builders and ferrymen. When Rāma expressed his desire to cross the river with his wife and brother, Guha ordered his men to prepare a boat suited for the purpose. (II 52-6)

अस्यवाहनं संयुक्तां कर्णग्राहवतीं शुभाम् ।

सुप्रतारां दृढां तीर्थं शीघ्रं नावमुपाहर ॥

The number of fighting men is intimated in

नौकाशतानां पञ्चानामेकैकस्य शतं शतम् ।

चन्द्रद्वानां तथा द्यूनां तिष्ठन्मूढतथग्विनाम् ॥

There were five hundred boats and in each boat there were one hundred archers.

The Nishāda King was a friend of Rāma; when he heard of the arrival of the Princes in his country, he accorded a hearty reception to Rāma, Seeta and Lakshman. The meeting of Rāma and Guha was cordial. Rāma went in advance and embraced the King of the Nishādās. (II. 49-35).

Tamārtastam Guhō Rāghavamabrabhit.

Then Guha offered all kinds of food to Rama

(II. 50-39)

Bhakshyam bhōjyañ-cha pēyañcha lēhya-ñch-ēdamu-
pasthitam.

S'ayanāni-cha mukhyāni vājinām khādanāñcha tē.

[“See, various food before thee placed,
“And cups to drink and sweets to taste.
“For thee soft beds are hither borne,
“And for thy horses grass and corn”.]

But Rama accepted only the fodder for the horses and declined the other things with thanks. It was not that he had any objection to eat the viands but because he had taken the vow of hermitage. (II. 49·44).

कुशचीराजिनघरं फक्तमूक्ताग्निञ्च माम् ।

विद्धि प्रणिहितं धर्मं तापसं वनगोचरम् ॥

Bharata who was not bound by such vows accepted every kind of food similarly offered by Guha. From these facts it clearly appears that the Aryans had no objection either to touch the men of the forest or to partake of food given by them. As the name Sringi-bēra, which is half-Aryan and half non-Aryan, indicates, the Nishadas seem to have been semi-Aryanised by their close proximity to the kingdom of Kosala.

This friendly tribe helped them over the river; and having roamed in the Dandaka forest for ten years Rāma, Seetā and Lakshmana went to live in the Panchavaṭi. There they met with *Jatayu* who offered to watch over Seeta, whenever the brothers were absent on hunting excursions. No particulars of this tribe were given. Similarly, when the Vānaras that had gone to the south in search of Seeta sat in despair on the shore of the sea, Sampati came out of a mountain cavern and told them that he was the brother of *Jatayu*.

But nowhere are given any particulars of their customs. *Jaṭāyu* tells Rāma of the origin of species, and Sampati tells the Vānars of the different varieties amongst the birds. Though both of these accounts seem to be rather tiresome, still, I think, that some hints as to the origin of totemism and its divisions may perhaps be derived by a careful study of the two accounts.

Rāma and Lakshmana, searching for Seetā, arrived in the hermitage of Sabari, a representative of a tribe of Sabaras that lived on the banks of the lake of Pampā. The description of the abode with its hearths and the courteous reception offered by the old woman to the brothers show how a non-Aryan tribe was absorbed into the Aryan fold. The old woman entering the funeral pyre, is perhaps, a symbolic way of describing the complete Aryanisation of the tribe. Whatever it may be, this character does not show any direct bearing on the main story. She did not condole with Rāma in his misery; nor did she even tell him in what direction Seetā was taken away. For a man sorrowing like Rāma, no such words as are said by Sabari will be consoling; they will be, on the other hand, boring. Then what might have been the purpose of the poet in introducing her here? A careful consideration shows that she was intended to intimate the nationality of the people living in the country to the south of the *Dandaka* forest.

This half-Aryanised condition of the people, perhaps, made Manu give them an origin as the offspring of a Brahman father and a Sudra mother (See Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I. p. 481).

Her abode is placed just at the entrance of Kishkindhya, the centre of Vānar influence. But for her, it is an unknown and insoluble problem to identify the Vānars, the supposed man-like monkeys, with any of the tribes living now in India.

Having left the hermitage the brothers went towards the hill Risyamūka, the refuge of Sugreeva and his followers. When Sugreeva saw the brothers coming towards the hill, he lost heart and fleeing away with his followers, hid himself.

1 Tau-tu drisṭva mahāt-mānau bhrātarau Rama-
Lakshmaṇau.

Varāyudha-dharau veerau Sugreeva-s's'ankiaō-bhavat.
2 Udvigna-hridaya-ssarvā dis'a-ssamavalokayan.

Navya-tishtbata kasminschi-ddēsē=vānara-punga-
vah.

“Sugreeva moved by wondering away
“The high-souled sons of Raghu saw,
“In all their glorious arms arrayed;
“And grief upon his spirit weighed.
“To every quarter of the sky
“He turned in fear his anxious eye,
“And roving still from spot to spot
“With troubled steps he rested not.”

Even now the men of the hills of Ganjam and Vizagapatam run away at the sight of an official livery or turban. But amongst them there may be one or two persons that have grown bold and courteous by associating with the civilised classes. All the official or bartering work of the villagers

is managed by such men who are regarded with some respect. Such a man was Hanuman who by visiting the Aryan colonies in the *Dandaka* forest, had acquired not only purity of speech, but also refinement of manners. Therefore he approached the princes and spoke to them gracefully and courteously.

The inhabitants of Kishkindhya celebrated their festivals with song, music and dance as the hill-men do even now. IV. 27.

IV. 27. 28. Geeta vaditra nirghōsha-s's'ryatē jayatām-
vara.

Nardatām vānarāṇāñcha mṛdangā-dambarai-ssaha.
Labdhvā bhāryām kapivarah prāpya-rājya
subṛdvrtah.

Dhruvam nandati Sugreev-ssamprāpya mahateem-
s'riyam.

(Oh best of warriors!) "Sweet music and song of the minstrels

"And, when the Vānars dance, will come

"The sound of tabour and of drum,

"Again to spouse and realm restored,

"Girt by friends, the Vānar lord

"Great glory has acquired ; and how

"Can he be less than happy now ?"

The inhabitants of Kishkindhya live chiefly upon roots and fruits though they have plenty of corn in their granaries. The tribesmen living in the hills of Ganjam and Vizagapatam eat chiefly the roots they dig out from earth and the fruits the forest trees yield. The produce of the field is used occasionally for festive days; while most of

it is utilised in bartering. Both men and women take intoxicating drinks which is also a characteristic of the men of Kishkindhya. Tārā was प्रसक्तन्ती स दविद्वक्ताक्षौ (IV. 33. 37½). When Lakshmana approached her, she was पानयोगाद्विनिवृत्तकक्ष्या (ibid. 39½).

The younger brother married the widow of his brother. Sugreeva married the widow of Vali. Rāma says, (IV. 27:4).

स्वञ्च पत्नौ मयिप्रेतां तारां ज्वापि समीप्सिताम् ।

विहरन्त महीरान्नं कृतार्थं विगतज्वरम् ॥

“With royal Rumā by his side,

“Or Tārā yet a dearer bride,

“He spent each joyous day and night

“In revelry and wild delight”.

This appears to be a custom compulsory on the widow. Vali himself enjoins Sugreeva not to disgrace Tārā but maintain her in the rank he had given her (IV. 18:56).

Maddōsha kṛta-doshām tām yathā Tārām tapasvineem
Sugreevo-nāvamanyēta ta thā=vasthatu-marhasi.

“Let not Tārā, left forlorn,

“Weep for Sugreeva’s wrathful scorn.

“Nor let him, for her lord’s offence

“Condemn her faithful innocence.

“And well and wisely may he reign

“If thy dear grace his power sustain”.

Though Tārā was entrusted to the care of Sugreeva, her son Angada had to be specially placed in the protection of his uncle; for Tārā did not undertake to be responsible for the up-bringing of Angada. This fact proves that the widow had no hold

either on the property or the children of her late husband. Nachā-ham hari-rājasya prabhavā-myangadasya vā. Pitrvya-stasya sugreeva ssarva-kāryē=shvanantarah.

["No rule or right, a widowed dame

"O'er Angad or the realm I claim.

"Sugreeva is the uncle, he

"In every act supreme must be."]

These customs are still to be seen amongst the Savaras of Ganjam. "A widow is considered bound to marry her husband's brother.....The man that marries the widow says on oath that she has taken with her no property belonging to the deceased or his children." (*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Thurston).

The custom of marrying the widow does not extend to the elder brother. It is an offence if the elder brother lives with his younger brother's wife. It was for this offence that Vāli suffered death. (IV. 18-19).

The Vānaras that were sent in search of Seetā, looked for her in every place during the day time but at night-fall they all assembled in one place and slept three (IV. 47. 4 & 5). This is a peculiar habit observed amongst the hill tribes of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. Even in drinking ale (मद्य) the habit of the modern hill tribes presents itself in Rāmāyana wherein the Vānaras are said to drink in cups of leaves (द्रोण) holding them with both hands, V. 61. 9.

Madhūni dṛoṇa-bāhubhih parigrihya tē.

Pibanti kapayah kēchit sanghs'a-statra hrishthavat.

(Those monkeys, holding the leafy cups, containing the drink quaffed it; some made merry in bands).

(VI. 4. 91½) द्रोणमात्र प्रमाणां लम्बमानानि वानराः ।

यद्युः पिबन्तोदृष्टास्ते मद्युनि मद्युपिङ्गताः ॥

Where the tribesmen drink, the whole tribe sit together and drink ale in cups made of leaves. The sylvan habit is intimated by the 'droṇās' made of leaves.

There is not much to be inferred from the funerals of Vāli; for even in modern times, every Savara dead body is cremated. The grand ceremonial way described may be a little exaggeration. That all the villagers should follow the corpse to the burning place, is a custom commonly seen amongst the hill tribes. Greater similarity between the Savaras of to-day and the Vānaras of Kishkindhya is found in the principle of classifying themselves into septs.

A study of the words used in the epic to denote the inhabitants of Kishkindhya shows that every word indicates a special character of these beings. Before the real significance of these words is discussed, it is but necessary to show that Vālmiki never intended that these beings should be understood to be monkeys that are now found in the jungles of India.

When Sugreeva said to Rāma, (IV. 7. 7).

“नाहं ता मनुशोचामि प्राकृतो वानरोपि सन् ।”

he intimates that the class of men to which he belonged were Prākṛitah (men of nature). This contrasts with men of civilisation. This clearly appears in the words, “मनुष्य योः प्राकृतयोश्च वीर्यः” (VI.

15.7) where Ravana calls the Princes मनुष्याः and the Vānars by प्राकृताः. There are several places where मनुष्य is used in the sense of 'an inhabitant of cities and janapadas'. Sugreeva is spoken of as one of the four 'pursharbhās', (Rāma, Lakshmana, Vibheeshana and Sugreeva) that had gathered in one place (VI. 25-29-30), and the rest were Vānars. (ibid. 31) उत्सादा सङ्क्रामयितुं सर्वं तिष्ठन्तु वानराः ।. Again when Vānars were fleeing on seeing Kumbhakarna, Angada chided them for being afraid like the real monkeys. (VI. 66.5&21) क्व गच्छथ भयत्रस्ता हरयः प्राकृता यथा प्राकृता हरयः clearly means the natural real monkeys. This proves that these Vānars were not monkeys as they are generally understood to have been. Though all words that are common both to the monkeys and the inhabitants of forests are found used, the word मर्कट is nowhere found in the epic used for the followers of Sugreeva. The male members of the class are said to have had tails; but the women are not described to have had this appendage. In addition to these facts, a study of the real meaning of each word used to denote these men, further confirms the view that the members of the army of Rāma were human beings and not the monkeys that are generally seen in the forests of India.

Of all the words used to name these people, Vānar is found repeated 1080 times. Its significance is intimated by the explanatory compounds such as वनचरिन्, वनोक्तश्च &c. (VI. 4.65) वानरा वनगोचराः ।

IV. 50.13½ ततः पर्वतकूटायो हनुमान्पवननात्मजः ।

अबवौ हानरान्सर्वी कान्तावनकोविदः ॥

ibid. 53.25. तस्मिन् वृत्तीति काले तु सग्रीवेण कृते स्वयम् ।

प्रायोपवेशनं युक्तं सर्वेषां वनौकसाम् ॥

From these it clearly appears that the word signifies a forester and not a monkey. It should be derived from वन a wood, and हस to play; but not from वा implying resemblance and नर a man

हरि which is used 540 times is also explained by वनचारि and other compounds that it might not be misunderstood for a monkey.

(IV. 39.12) हरिणि सैद्यनिह्रीदै रण्यैश्च वनचारिभिः ।

(VI. 42.22) वीरबाहु स्तुबाहुश्च नलश्च वनगोचरः ॥

निघोह्योपनिविष्टास्ते प्राकारं हरियूषणाः ॥

The word seems to be used for that class of Vānaras who differed in colour from क्षाः who are said to be of dark complexion. (VI. 27.5).

नीलानिव महासेषां क्षिप्रतो यांस्तु पश्यसि ।

... ..

एते त्वा मभिवर्तन्ते राज नृक्षा स्तुदाहणाः ॥

In such compounds as *क्षवानर, ययृक्ष, the difference in colour alone appears to be emphasised. Both *क्षः and वानराः were under the sway of Sugreeva; he was ययृक्षाणां गणेश्वरः । When Ravana spoke about the individuals of this class, he draws no distinction amongst them.

V. 46.10. दृष्ट्वाहि हरयः पूर्वं मया विपुक्त विक्रमाः ।

वाक्तीच सहस्रग्रीवो जाम्बवान्श्च महावक्तः ॥

V. 60.15. Ravana calls जाम्बवान् a हरिश्चतस्र and in जाम्बवत्प्रमुखां कपौन् he includes the Riksha-rāja amongst the कपयः । Nor did Rāma observe any difference between the Vānaras and *क्षाः.

(VI.76.57½) रामस्तु व्युथितं श्रुत्वा वाक्ति पुत्रं रणाक्षरे ।

व्यादिदेश हरिश्चिह्नान् काम्यव त्पुमुखा स्ततः ॥

In spite of these glaring statements in the epic itself, it is inconceivable how the word could be understood to mean 'a bear'; its original significance must have been either forgotten or its original form must have been so mutilated as to obscure its real meaning.

The *तवङ्ग* is used about 240 times, its use appears to be appropriate wherever it is used. It signifies their capacity to run. V. 60.1. अश्विपुत्रो महावेगो बलवन्तो पतवङ्गमौ. Wherever the word is used it should be understood to intimate the quickness of their speed or their natural habit of running. They run away at the sight of civilized men. Because Hanuman was the best of runners he was sent to bring the herbs.

Kapi which is used about 420 times furnishes us with a clue to identify the people of Kish-kindhya with the modern hill-men. 'Kapi' means a monkey but we have seen that other words used to name these men signify the tribes wandering in the forest. It has already been proved that the customs and manners of the people of Sugreeva are still found in a hill tribe called the Savaras. But the Rāmāyana describes these Vānars to have had tails and therefore they were *kapayah*. It is this appendage that has misled many to understand the Vānars of Sugreeva's army to have been monkeys. That this tail is not a natural one is intimated in V. 53.3, where Vibheeshana says—

कपीनां किल लांगुल मिष्टं भवति भुषणम् ।

That tail is an important ornament but not a limb of the body. Among the Savaras there are a class of men who wear the ornament of a tail.

"A tribe of Savaras is called Arsi or Arisi which means a monkey in the Savara language. Their Oriya neighbours call them 'Lambo Lanjiya' (long-tailed) which is the Oriya translation of the Savara word "Arsi" (*Castes and Tribes of S. I.*). They got this name from the long piece of cloth which the males allow to hang down. The name signifies the peculiarity in the dress of men and it does not appear in that of women. In Rāmāyana also the Vānar women are not said to have had tails. If the Savara 'Arsi' is translated into the Oriya 'Lambo Lanjiya' even in modern times, what wonder if it has been translated into the Sanskrit कपि by the poet Valmiki? As these forest men wear a long piece of their dress, hanging down they were called कपयः and the word signifies, as every name in the epic does, a striking feature in these men.

Just as the Vānaras were divided into the वरयः and लाः by their colour or complexion, the long appendage in the dress gave rise to the two classes of वानराः and गोलाङ्गूलाः. We have already seen that the significance of कपि was a long hanging piece of dress; गोलाङ्गूल, from its root meaning, signifies a tail with a tuft of hair at the end. In spite of this, it is understood to mean a long-tailed monkey with a black face; but this

monkey has no tuft of hair at the end of the tail. The tail of this class of गोलकुल is a piece of ornament like the tail of the Arsi (कपि) The chief feature of the गोलकुल is a tuft of hair at the end. This kind of tail also is worn for ornament by the Savaras.

“Usually the Saora’s dress (his full dress) consists of a large bunch of feathers (white generally) stuck in his hair on the crown of his head, a coloured cloth round his head as a turban, and worn much of the back of the head, and folded tightly, so as to be a good protection to the head. When feathers are not worn, the hair is tied on the top of the head or a little at the side of it” (*Castes and Tribes of S. I.*). A tuft of hair hanging out loose from a knot, two or three inches high, gives the idea of the end of a cow’s tail. Hill-men with such a head dress have been noticed by previous writers.

Since the Vānars of the Rāmāyaṇa resemble in dress, customs and manners the Savaras of today, and many of the names of persons, places and objects existing between the Ganges and Lanka are of Savara origin; it is clear that Sugreeva and his men were Savaras or of tribes allied to them.

In modern times all the tribes allied to the Savaras are called the Mundaris and the name includes the Savaras, the Gadabas, the Asuras, the Mundaris &c living in Central India from Indore on the west to the Ganjam District in the east. But these tribes being influenced by the neighbour-

ing Aryan classes have partly adopted the Aryan languages and customs, or have altogether forgotten their original language and became Aryanised completely.

“There are, on the other hand, several Aryanised tribes in Northern India who have certainly once spoken some Munda dialect. Such are the Cheros in Behar and Chota Nagpur; the Kherwars, the Savaras who have formerly extended so far north as Shahbad, many of the so-called Rajbansis and so forth... At all events Munda languages must once have been spoken over a wide area in Central India and probably also in the Ganges valley” (Grierson).

Ptolemy writes, “Towards the Ganges are the Sabari, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance.” That their original home was to the South of the Ganges can be understood from the distribution of the Savaras in modern times. “We find them largely spread over the Orissa division and the Orissa tributary states..... Farther to the north they occur in Saugar and Damoh and in former times they are said to have been settled in Shahbad.” (Grierson).

The Vānars of the Rāmāyana had their headquarters at Kishkindhya which, from the statements made in the epic, clearly appears to have existed to the north of the Vindhya mountains and south of the Ganges. To the north of the Ganges lived the semi-Aryanised foresters called the Nishādas who had their chief centre at Sringi-bera. Then how did these foresters living between the Ganges

and the Vindhya come to spread themselves from the Vindhya to the hills of Orissa? The reason is not far to seek. The political changes that had taken place in the North-west of India had dislocated the forest tribes and compelled them to seek shelter elsewhere. Sir Herbert Risley says, "Local tradition ascribes to the Savars the conquest of the Cheros and their expulsion from the plateau of Shahabad in about the year 421 of the ^{*}Salivahana era or A. D. 500." The occupation of Shahabad by the Savars is evidenced by a number of ancient monuments in the district that are still put down to the Savars, who are supposed to have been driven South by the inroad of Rajputs under the Bhojpur chief which made an end to their rule". The disturbances caused to the peaceful rule of the Eastern Ganga Kings of Kalinga during the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries by the hill tribes show the incursions of the Savars into that country. Ranaka Dharmakhedi, a vassal of Vajrahasta III says in his grant dated A. D. 1054 that he had terrified a host of enemies on the western mountains. In the 7th century the earlier dynasty of the Gangas had been overthrown by one Bālāditya; Kāmarnava I had to defeat the enemy and establish the Ganga rule again. These documentary evidences combined with the evidences offered by the place-names such as Jayati, Kindām &c clearly show that the Savaras had made serious attempts to establish settlements in the kingdom of Kalinga until they were finally subdued and were forced to settled peacefully during the reign of Vajrahasta III of Kalinga.

From these considerations it can be seen that the Savaras were, from time to time, dislodged from their settlements and were compelled to find new homes. Being naturally accustomed to live in forests and hills, they seem to have always occupied such tracts as the plateau of Shahbad and the forests of the Eastern Ghats. A careful study of the localities now occupied by the Savaras show that they preferred to migrate through hills and forests. This natural propensity to avoid cities and other centres of civilization and to move over hills and dales is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. When Rāma led the Vanar hordes to Lanka, they avoided the cities and Janapadas and marched along the hill sides. (VI. 4·39).

वर्ज्य अग्राभ्यांश्च स्तथा ज्ञानपदानपि ।

By taking this route it was easy for them to obtain roots and fruits they chiefly lived upon. Wherever they settled they were particular to see that the chief articles of their food were abundantly procurable. This natural habit is poetically expressed when Rāma was made to pray to Indra to bless the Vānars that roots and fruits should be abundantly obtained wherever they inhabit, (VI. 123·8½)—

अकाले चपि मुख्यानि मूलानि च फलानि च ।

नद्याश्च विमला स्तत्र तिष्ठेयु र्यत्र वानराः ॥

The above considerations show that the Savaras or the Vānars had their original home between the Ganges and the Vindhya, but were, in subsequent times, compelled to leave those homes and find new ones elsewhere. Even in their original

homes they seem to have been divided into tribes as in modern times, according the amount of admixture of Aryan civilization in their customs and language. The Nishādas on the banks of the Ganges, the Jaṭāyu tribe at the Panchavati, the Sabari tribe at the Pampā, the Vānars of Kishkindhyā and the Sampati tribe in the Vindhya,—such are some of the tribes of the Savaras mentioned under the name of the Vānars or foresters in the epic.

From the distinct mention of the detailed habits, customs and manners of the tribes of the so-called Rākshasas and of the Vānars, and the use of the aboriginal names of persons, places and objects with such changes as would be required by Aryan intonation, it may be reasonably inferred that Valmiki had personal knowledge of the peoples and of the places lived in by those men; if not, he could not have depicted them so faithfully and so truthfully. This inference may help us to rightly interpret the tradition attached to the origin of the poet.

It is said that, though he was born a Brāhman, at first he led the life of a *Chandāla* for a long time when seven Rishis took pity on him and initiated him in the *mantra* of Rāma. Uttering the name he sat down in a place and an ant-hill grew over him. Nārada came to the ant-hill after sometime and told him the story of Rāma's wanderings. Because he came out of an ant-hill he was named Valmiki. Because he has narrated the story of Rāma, he has been raised to the rank of a *rishi*. This tradition, as all traditions

are, must have been built on the acquaintance of the poet with the customs of the aboriginal tribes who, from time immemorial, have been considered to be *Chandālas*. That Vālmiki was inclosed in an ant-hill may be taken to be a metaphorical way of indicating the disappearance of the poet from the Aryan community. During this period he might have been wandering amongst the forest tribes studying their customs and language. When he again revealed himself to his own class of men, he brought out the story of the "Wanderings of Rāma," which became very popular and raised him to the rank of a *rishi*. Had it not been for the faithful and real representation of men and places, the poem would not have been so much appreciated as to make a *rishi* of its author.

On these considerations it cannot be denied that the persons said to have been inhabiting the region of the *Dandaka* forest were not ghosts and demons created by the imaginative brain of the poet, but were *bona fide* human beings having real existence and following such customs as are still found amongst the forest tribes who still maintain, uncontaminated, those very customs which they were observing in primitive times.*

* This paper was read before the *All India Oriental Conference* at its third session at Madras, on the 24th December, 1924.

III. SOME NOTES ABOUT MARRIAGE, FOOD, DRINK, AND OCCUPATIONS OF CASTES AFFECTING SOCIAL STATUS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.,

Rules regarding intermarriage and interdining among sub-castes are not uniform throughout the Central Provinces. In the Southern Endogamy and districts interdining is not only Commensality. permissible between sub-castes of a caste, but between distinct castes also, for instance not only may Tirole and Khaire Kunbis interdine, but so may Kunbis and Marathas, Kunbis and Malis and so on. In the Northern districts mutual inter-dining between castes is rarely found. A caste may eat at another caste's, which then becomes the superior of the other and would therefore refuse to dine with the one which dines at his own. A reciprocity is, however, found among sub-castes generally in the matter of *pākki*, water and smoking from the same *hukka* but not in what is called *Kāchchi* to be referred to later on. The prevailing rule however is to keep aloof altogether both in the matter of dining and marriage. There are certain sub-castes which however practise hypergamy, such as the highest sub-divisions of Dāngis with others, the Kanaujia Brahmans with Jujhotias, the Khonds with their *Utār* or *Satbhūiyan* sub-divisions and so on. As a matter of course interdining follows hypergamy,

but sometimes it is confined to the families connected. The Kanaujia Brāhmans, Bankas, Bhunjias Kharias, Sonjharas &c. have however curious customs, in that they do not interdine with their own caste-fellows excepting their near relatives.

Penalties for breach of rules is excommunication from the caste by the caste Panchayat.

Excommunication is usually tempo-

Penalties. rary and is mitigated by a caste feast, unless the offence is so grave as to call for permanent exclusion. In the case of a member of a sub-caste giving his daughter to a member of another sub-caste, the offence is not so grave. The Panchāyat, however, may order future connection of the family with the daughter to be broken off and the offending member may be admitted to caste intercourse by giving a feast to his caste fellows. But the offence of taking a wife from another caste is reckoned a graver one in view of the fact that the caste cannot avoid intercourse with the wife brought from another sub-caste. This may seem somewhat strange in view of hypergamous connections, whereby some people may bring a wife from a lower sub-division without degrading themselves. But it must be remembered that hypergamy is an exception and not the rule. In many castes the man taking a wife from another sub-caste may be permanently outcasted along with his wife who may or may not be admitted into the lower sub-division from which she has come. This would be the case among Brāhmans and Banias, but among other

castes a strictness like this is seldom practised. Penalties for interdining and inter-smoking are light, a feast to the caste fellows being a very common form of punishment inflicted by the caste elders.

Caste as a rule is not affected by change of traditional occupation, but there are some occupations which lower the status of a person and may even cause excommunication from caste. For instance, spinning of thread is prohibited among Koltas on pain of excommunication. In Chanda no caste but a Kapu or Gond may drive the Teli's bullock used for the oil press. *San* or hemp may not be grown by most of the agricultural castes. Those who have taken to it have been degraded and are looked down upon. Among the Kurmis they form a separate sub-caste known as Santora Kurmis. The Lorhas of the Hoshangabad District say that they were originally Tuar Rajputs but they were degraded as they took to *San* growing. Similarly cocoon rearing, *al* (madder) growing, turmeric planting &c. carry a sort of degradation with them. Not every caste would condescend to follow them. If they did they would find themselves cut off by their caste brethren. It need not be pointed out that those occupations which are universally known as degrading are strictly forbidden for castes other than those which practise them traditionally. Such, for instance, are the vocations of scavengers, cobblers, washermen and the like. Not to say of following

such occupations, other castes would not do a thing which would suggest a likeness to them, for instance, a *Darzi* (tailor) would refuse to make a hole with his needle in a piece of leather, as it suggests a *Chāmār's* work. In several castes towards Betul selling shoes for a greater or less price than the one voluntarily paid, merely for the sake of getting rid of a pair which is not suited for the purpose, involves excommunication, as it suggests trade in shoes. The *Dhimars* of Jubbulpore have recently made a rule that they should not cover shoes with polish, although they may clean them otherwise. Polishing suggests a part of the *Chāmār's* work. In the northern districts there is no objection for a *Dhimar* to wash the *dhotis* of his master, but in the southern districts it is held to suggest a *Dhōbi's* work, and therefore the *Dhimars* would not do that work. At a meeting of *Kunbis* held at Nagpur the repairing of old latrines was proscribed, as it suggested a *Mehar's* work. Some occupations such as oil-pressing and shaving may not be done by any caste other than that which follows its traditional occupation. Numerous examples of this class can be quoted, but they do not involve permanent exclusion though punished all the same.

Many of the ministering and serving castes have got well-defined clientele and should any other member of the caste.....
 Poaching on the encroach on what is considered
 preserves of their exclusive privilege, the caste
 others. members take a serious notice of it
 and may exclude the encroacher

from caste intercourse. Such are the offices of Brāhmans, Nais, Kumbhars, Dhōbis, Basors Chāmārs, Sunars, Lohars, Barhais, Dhimars &c. Most of these it would appear are village menials. There is now more freedom in this connection than before and the matter is regulated more by the choice of the employer than by the hereditary claim of the menial. The original arrangement is however an economical one in view of the fact that the hereditary menials do service more cheaply than the new ones, as they get compensated for at festivals and festivities.

The untouchable castes as a rule are not allowed to draw water from a public well. A wooden net work is usually put on the mouths of wells to prevent accidents and in many places persons of two castes may not draw water simultaneously as the connection of the wood pollutes their *gharās* (earthen pots). This notion is now softened down, especially in populous towns, where they cannot wait long enough to allow persons to draw water one by one.

The lower castes usually depend for their water supply from rivers or springs dug by themselves and wells specially made for themselves.

As for drinking of water from other castes the general rule is that all castes may take water from the one from which a Brāhman has no objection to take. This applies only to Hindustani Brāhmans, as Marāṭhā Brāhmans do not accept

water from the hands of any caste but a Brahman. The water taken should be brought in a metallic pot such as copper or brass. Water in an earthen pot not before used may also be accepted, but not from a vessel which has been used at home. Kānsā or bell metal is considered equivalent to earthen-ware in the northern districts but in the eastern districts its place is taken by brass. A Chhattisgarhi may easily lend his *kānsā* (bell-metal) plate to a member of another caste, but not one made of brass. Exactly the reverse of it would be done in Saugor, Jubbulpore and other neighbouring districts. As regards inter-drinking of water between castes which are not twice born (viz, Brahman, Kshtriya or Bania) the practices in different localities vary so much that it is difficult to reduce them to any systematic rule. Members of the same caste belonging to different sub-castes may not drink from each other. Some Gadarias drink water from a Kalar, others do not. Some Barhais may take water from a Lohar. others may not. As a rule, water brought from a sacred place as holy water is not polluted by the touch of lower castes. Water in which milk or curds have been mixed is regarded as pure. If this was not so regarded, it would have become very difficult for higher castes to take milk or curds unless they possessed their own cattle. In Berar it enables Brahmans to take milk &c. from Musalman Gaolis who mix water from their own pots as assuredly as the Hindu Gaolis do.

Food cooked with *ghi* is what is known as

pakki, which is a degree higher than water in its susceptibility to defilement.

Pakki. Among the Brāhmans especially Marāṭhās and Gujrātis it is sometimes divided into two classes, that in which no water has been put at all—the flour being kneaded with milk, and that which has had water put in to make the dough. The *pakki* done with milk is less liable to pollution than the *pakki* done with water, but great stress is not laid on this minute differentiation. A Brāhman usually eats *pakki* from a twice-born caste and some even take it from the hands of some of the higher agricultural and artizan castes, such as Lodhis, Ahirs, Kalars and Sunars, though such Brāhmans are usually looked upon as degraded.

As regards the custom of castes other than Brāhmans, Rajputs and Banias, local differences as in the case of water exist. It may be noted here that *rōṭi* or bread in Chhattisgarh is regarded as *pakki*, while *bhāt* or cooked rice comes in the category of *kāchchi* to be presently described.

Bhāt is food cooked with water without the use of *ghi* or oil. In the same caste the taking of *bhāt* with a person leaves no

Kachchi. objection for contracting marriage relationship with him. Among Kanaujia Brāhmans *bhāt* is eaten at relatives' so connected and not with other members of the caste. The same is done among the aboriginal tribes of Khārias, Bhunjias, Malyars, Sonjharas and Bānkas, all of whom are more or less of mixed

blood. In Berar there is less restriction in the matter of taking food *kāchchi* or *pākki*, than in other parts of the province. A Kunbi may eat with a Māli, Dhanger, Hatgar and Shegar, all of whom reciprocate. Dhangars may eat at Hatgars, but the latter may not eat with the former. Barais may eat with Kunbis and Phulmālis. But the latter may not reciprocate. In some villages (Jalgaon, Sungaon, Jamod &c.) they may. These examples show a complexity which cannot be reduced to any fixed rules because they are not *stables*. There are instances where a member of a caste would not take whey from a Jain Bania, while another of the same caste and sub-division may eat *kāchchi* at his. Similarly members of the same caste belonging to the same sub-division are known in some places to eat with Dangis, at others with Gond and elsewhere to refuse food cooked by a Brāhman. Again distinctions are made according to pots they are cooked in. The Bhainas take boiled rice only from Kawars or Brāhmans, if it is cooked in a brass vessel and not an earthen one by a male and not a female, while they would accept baked *chāpatis* and other food from a Gond and a Rawat. In Sambalpur they would take this from a Savara and not from a Gond.

In the matter of taking *kāchchi*, females are very particular. They may not take it from the hands of the caste from which their husbands have eaten. Even low caste females would refuse to eat *kāchchi* cooked by a Brāhman.

While abstinence from animal food is considered elevating, its use is hardly degrading in view of the fact that the highest

Animal food. section of Brāhmans, the Kanaujias, have no scruples in that direction.

Their menu of course is restricted chiefly to herbivorous animals, such as goat, sheep, deer, fish and a few birds, like green pigeons &c. and these are considered to be suitable for consumption by the lower castes, without entailing any degradation. The consumption of other animals or birds is considered somewhat degrading. These are ducks, fowls, pigs and beef, together with lizards, crocodiles and other edible carnivorous animals. In the Marātha country ducks and fowls are not looked upon as impure, and almost all the castes which use goats also use fowls for food. In the northern districts the fowl is looked on with abhorrence and its mere touch sometimes entails the need for purification by a bath. It is said that the pollution is due to the bird eating all sorts of dirty things although even so, if not worse, is the case with fish which is given the appellation of "Jal Semi" or water bean and is devoured by those orthodox Brāhmans who would abjure even goat's flesh. The pig is really a dirty animal, especially the village pig, and only the lowest castes such as Mehtars, Basors, Chāmars would eat it. Higher castes such as Dāngis and even some sections of Rajputs may eat a wild pig, but not a domestic one. To a Musalman even the name of a pig is revolting. He has nothing to do with any kind of pig. He would not even pronounce the

name of the animal and, if necessity obliges him to refer to it, he would call it *bad jānvar* (bad animal) and would expect others to do the same in his presence. He would not drink water from a Sonār because that artizan uses a pig-bristle brush to clean silver ornaments. Of the same type is beef to a Hindu, but here the hatred is actuated by a different motive. A cow is a most sacred animal to a Hindu and to think of killing and eating it is abomination to him. There was a time when Brāhmans are believed to have partaken of that food but long ago it was strictly forbidden, an interdiction which continues to be followed with the same fervour with which it probably started. Yet there are castes included in the Hindu fold which consume them such as Chāmārs, Basors &c. There used to be monkey-eaters at one time, but they are not to be found now. The aboriginal and hunting classes such as Pardhis, Bhunjias, Bahelias &c. would eat almost every thing—lizards, crocodiles, snakes, jackals or even tiger flesh if available. Rats are a delicacy to the Gonds and corpses to Aghōris, but we have no regular caste of Savakhias (or eaters of corpses) as in Orissā. The low castes that have given up flesh eating are the Satnāmi Chāmārs and Kabirpanthis. There are many castes following Kabirpanth who also abjure flesh, but compared with the total strength of their caste they do not form such a proportion, as Pankās do. Almost every Pankā is a vāgetarian.

In addition to flesh-eating, the Kabirpanthis and Satnāmis abjure also liquor which finds great favour with all the labouring

Liquors. classes including aborigines and lower Hindu castes. There is a

curious tendency, these days, for castes to whom the liquor is prohibited to drink it, and for those to whom it is allowed to abandon it. This last inclination is usually stimulated by a desire to rise in the social scale. Brāhmans and Banias as a rule do not drink at all, but Rajputs sometimes do. Kunbis, Kurmis, Ahirs, and Marāṭhas are much given to intoxication, and castes below these have, generally speaking, no hesitation in taking it. Among Jains and Musalmans the use of liquor is strictly prohibited by religion and as a rule these people do not drink openly. Among Hindus there are only later Shāstric injunctions condemning its use but the early and the purer Aryans used it freely, heaping praises over it. It was consecrated, it was worshipped, it was praised, it was prayed to. The popular gods still like it, and all those tribes who offer at least fowls to their gods do not omit to offer a libation of liquor to them. When a *pūjā* is performed a little of the liquor is put in the hollow of the right hand and gradually allowed to trickle down from between the fingers, while the name of the god to whom it is offered is pronounced, with a request to accept the offering made by the devotee. Almost all forest gods and godlings, chiefly malicious spirits, are fond of drink. Births, marriages and deaths

also are made the occasion for making an offering which is always followed by distribution of the stuff to the party present on the occasion. A remnant of the old-time regard paid to liquor is found among the Basors, Chāmārs and Kumhars of the Betul District, who when they bring liquor for ceremonial purposes, for instance, at the time of marriage, perform a sort of propitiatory ceremony. The liquor on such occasions is usually brought in a metal pot which is painted on its outside with turmeric powder, which is always used on auspicious occasions. Before the pot is filled the distiller throws a few grains of wheat or rice in it and receives a special present for it. The pot is carried on the head of the Sawāsā (bridegroom's brother-in-law or father's sister's husband) accompanied with tomtoms from the liquor shop to the *mandwa* under which it is placed on a well-decorated platform. The home-distilled liquor is very dear to gods, such as Ban deva of Berar, but they now submit to the Excise Department rules, perhaps unwilling to see their devotees put to trouble for their sake. In fact they now get satisfied with a substitute, such as, mahua flowers mixed with water, liquid jaggery or *sharbat* made with it; curds mixed with *gūr* is also considered equal to liquor and non-drinkers sometimes abstain from taking such a preparation.

The great festivals like Diwali, Pola, Holi &c. offer opportunities both for worshipping gods and indulging in drinking. The higher castes includ-

ing Brāhmans may enjoy revelry of this kind if they become worshippers of Batuk Bhairon. These persons known as Bām-mārgis do it secretly, especially on the 8th of the Ās'win month or on the last day of any month or on the occasion of an eclipse.

IV. ON A MEITHEI APOLOGUE AND ITS BENGALI VARIANT.

By

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

*Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of
Calcutta.*

Apologues have been defined to be “stories with a conscious purpose and a moral and are thus nearly allied to proverbs”. * It is stated that, in the course of legal palavers held in West Africa, short stories are narrated by way of examples, according to which the Court may guide itself. Then again, it is recorded in the English Bible that Jotham, in a similar manner, recited to the Israelites the well-known apologue about the trees’ electing the bramble as their ruler.

The practice of composing and, most likely, of narrating apologues or “stories with a conscious purpose and a moral” was prevalent in ancient India. We have two collections of such apologues in the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopodes’a*, both of which are in Sanskrit. Of these two works, the more ancient is the *Pañchatantra* which existed in the first half of the sixth century A. D., and appears to have been, in the first instance, written for the instruction of kings’ sons in the principles of good conduct (*nīti*), a kind of “Mirror of Princes”.

* *The Handbook of Folklore*, By C. S. Burna. New Edition, Loveton Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914, Page 270,

Then again, the *Hitopades'a* is stated by Dr. A. A. Macdonell to be "more than 560 years old, as the earliest known MS. of it was written in 1373 A. D". *

Both the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopades'a* were originally designed to be treatises for teaching kings the principles of domestic and foreign policy. Naturally, however, ethical maxims have been introduced in great profusion into these two works which were composed for the especial purpose of serving as handbooks of practical moral philosophy.

The *Pañchatantra* includes a story which illustrates the triumph of intellect over brute force. In this story, a weak and puny hare brings about, by the exercise of his keen intellect, the death of a strong and powerful lion. There is another story, in this same collection, which sets forth how a crane killed all the fishes in a lake under the pretence of conveying them from the said reservoir of water to another but, in his own turn, was killed by a crab whom he sought to deceive in the same way, but who saw through his trickery—thereby pointing the moral that deceit and hypocrisy do not succeed in the last resort.

Strikingly similar to these two Sanskrit stories or apologues are the two tales which were collected from the Malayan peasantry by the members of the expedition which was sent by the University of Cambridge in 1899 to explore the

* *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, By A. A. Macdonell, M. A., Ph. D. London: William Heinemann, 1900. Page 374.

remoter States of the Malayan Peninsula. These Malayan tales, along with several others, have been published by Mr. W. Skeat under the title of *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*.

Now, the story of *The Lion and the Hare*, as given in the *Pañchatantra*, has an exact parallel in the Malayan folktale entitled—*The Tiger and the Shadow* which is published in Skeat's *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, while the Sanskrit apologue of *The Crane, the Fishes and the Crab*, as given in the former work, appears to be a strikingly similar variant of the Malayan story of *The Pelican's Punishment* which is set forth in the latter work.

I have shewn elsewhere * that the strikingly close similarity between the aforementioned two Sanskrit apologues and the two Malayan folktales is to be accounted for only by the fact that the peoples of South-eastern Asia and of the Malayan Peninsula, who were, from a remote period of antiquity, acquainted with the classical Sanskrit literature of India which includes the Sanskrit collections of fairy tales and fables, borrowed the fore-going stories from the *Pañchatantra*, and, after giving them a local colouring and setting them in a purely Malayan native framework, adapted them as their own.

I shall now show, in this paper, how an apologue which is current among a people belong-

* Vide my paper "On the Malay Versions of Two Ancient Indian Apologues" in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Silver Jubilee Memorial Number for 1911), pages 67-75

ing to the Kuki-Chin group of the Tiboto-Burman family has, in a manner similar to that whereby the afore-mentioned two Sanskrit apologues have been borrowed and assimilated by the Malays, been borrowed and adapted by the Bengali-speaking peoples who live in the lowlands situated to the west of the Assam hill-tracts.

Now this apologue, of which an abridged version in English is given below and which illustrates the truth of the saying that "*Trickery can be met only by trickery*", is current among the Meitheis or Manipuris who inhabit the Valley of Manipur and belong to the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman family.

THE MEITHEI OR MANIPURI APOLOGUE.

Once upon a time, a man had two sons. After some time, he died, leaving behind him a she-buffalo, a pomegranate tree, and a curtain: When the two brothers proceeded to divide the property, the younger brother, who was more clever than his elder brother, partitioned the same in the undermentioned manner. He allotted the front portion of the she-buffalo, which included her head, to his elder brother. While he himself kept the beast's hind portion from the tail forwards. Then he gave the lower portion of the pomegranate tree to his elder, and himself took the topmost portion. Lastly, he himself used the curtain during the night-time, and left it to be used by his elder brother during the day.

When the buffalo browsed upon other people's crops, the younger brother compelled his elder brother

to pay the damages, as the outrage had been done by the beast's head which belonged to the latter. But the former himself took the milk and the calves that were born, as also the fruits of the pomegranate tree.

After some time had elapsed in this way, the elder brother, according to the advice of his neighbours, proceeded to cut down the pomegranate tree for the purpose of getting fuel. Thereupon the younger brother proposed that thenceforward they should divide the fruits between themselves. This prevented the cutting down of the tree.

Thereafter the elder brother decided to kill his part of the buffalo, because it gave him such trouble by browsing upon other people's crops. Thereupon the younger brother stopped him from killing it, and proposed that thenceforward they should divide the milk and the calves in equal halves.

When the elder brother began to soak the curtain in water during the day-time, the younger brother proposed that they should use it alternately.

The elder brother agreed to these proposals. Thereafter he and his younger brother lived in peace and amity. *

* This adaptation in English has been made by me from the literal translation of the Meithei apologue which has been published at page 41 of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III., Part III.

Now, the foregoing apologue or “story with a conscious purpose and a moral” appears to have been borrowed from the Meitheis or Manipuris by the Bengalis who, after giving it a local colouring and fitting it into a Bengali frame-work, have transformed it into the following form which may be called the Bengali variant thereof:—

**THE BENGALI VARIANT ENTITLED ‘CUNNING OUTWRITTEN
BY CUNNING’.**

A poor man named Umākānta had two sons, of whom the elder one was named Ramākānta and the younger one was named Shyāmākānta. At the time of his death, Umākānta left the following properties only, namely, (1) one cow; (2) one areca-nut tree; and (3) one blanket.

Of the two brothers, the elder Ramākānta was a shrewd and cunning man; while his younger brother Shyāmākānta was a simpleton and, therefore, no match for his elder brother's cunning.

In order to defraud his unsophisticated younger brother, Ramākānta proposed that the aforementioned properties left by their father should be divided in the following way:—

(a) That he himself should take the cow's hind portion which included her udder (so that he might be enabled to appropriate the milk given by her.), and the topmost portion of the areca-nut tree (so that he might be in a position to take the fruits borne by it).

(b) While his younger brother should take the cow's front portion which included her head and mouth (so that he might be obliged to feed her

daily in order to keep her alive and make her yield milk), and should also take the lower portion of the areca-nut tree (in order that he might be under the necessity of watering it daily and manuring it occasionally for the purpose of keeping it alive and of making it bear fruits).

(c) As the blanket was incapable of division, it was arranged that Ramākānta should use it during the night, and that Shyāmākānta should utilize it in any way he liked during the day-time. This arrangement was proposed in order that the former might wrap himself up with it for the purpose of keeping himself warm during the cold hours of the night; while it would be of no use to the latter during the heat of the day.

Shyāmākānta, simpleton as he was, could not see through the selfish motives and the cunning devices of his elder brother, and, therefore, agreed to the afore-described division of the properties.

Accordingly, Ramākānta appropriated the cow's milk, took the areca-nuts borne by the tree, and used to wrap himself up with the blanket on cold nights for the purpose of keeping himself warm. In this way, he lived in comfort and affluence.

On the other hand, Shyāmākānta passed his days in great poverty and earned his livelihood by working as a day-labourer. He had, moreover, to feed the cow daily but was debarred from taking even her dung, as the beasts' hind portion belonged to his elder brother. Then again,

he had to water the areca-nut tree daily, loosen the soil round its roots, and manure the same from time to time, but, notwithstanding all this labour and attention bestowed by him upon it, he could not appropriate the fruits thereof, as the top portion of the tree belonged to his elder brother. While his elder brother slept in comfort on cold wintry nights by wrapping himself up in the blanket, it was of no use him in the heat of the day-time.

Things went on in this way for some time until one day when the brother of Shyāmākānta's wife came on a visit to his brother-in-law's place. Now this man was possessed of a good deal of shrewdness and cunning and was, therefore, more than a match for his brother-in-law's elder brother Ramākānta.

Seeing his brother-in-law Shyāmākānta's simplicity and foolishness, he advised the former to do the following things, namely—(a) to abstain from feeding the cow for a few days; and (b) to make a sham show of cutting down the areca-nut tree by pretending to hack its lower portion with an axe.

To this advice of his brother-in-law, Shyāmākānta listened, and acted accordingly.

As the cow had not been fed, the beast did not yield any milk to Ramākānta when he proceeded to milk her. Seeing that Shyāmākānta was about to cut down the tree and fearing that he would lose the fruits thereof in the event of its being cut down, Ramākānta realised in his heart

of hearts that, having been advised by same body else, his foolish younger brother had outwitted him. For this reason, he agreed, from that time forth, to give his younger brother Shyāmākānta half shares of the cow's milk and of the ripe fruits of the areca-nut tree.

Thereafter the brother-in-law advised his sister—Shyāmākānta's wife—to steep the blanket in water during the day-time, and to give it dripping wet to her husband's elder brother on the approach of evening, simply because, in its wet condition, it would be of no use to Ramākānta during the cool night-time. Accordingly, she did as she was instructed to do.

Having been finally and completely outwitted by his younger brother's wife, the elder brother Ramākānta now proposed that the blanket should be sold and that the sale-proceeds thereof should be divided in equal moieties between himself and Shyāmākānta. The latter having agreed to this proposal, the blanket was accordingly sold, and the sale-proceeds thereof were divided half and half between the two brothers.

Owing to the cleverness and sagacity of his brother-in-law, Shyāmākānta was enabled to outwit his cunning elder brother and, thereby to get back his rightful shares in the properties left by their father. *

* This abstract in English has been made by me from the Bengali version which was published at pages 535-537 of the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* (published from Calcutta) for Māgha 1329 B. S. (January-February 1923 A. D.)

REMARKS :

Now arises the question: What are the reasons which have led me to infer that the Bengalis have borrowed the apologue from the Meitheis or Manipuris and assimilated it as their own?

In reply to this question, I should say that, on comparing the two versions of the apologue, I have found that the Meithei one is more simple and straightforward than the Bengali one, that the former is devoid of all detailed matter and does not even mention the names of the human characters who figure in it. Whereas the Bengali variant is more elaborate and detailed in describing even the trivial incidents of the story, gives Bengali names to the principal human characters who play parts in it, and describes the shrewd device of selling the blanket for the purpose of raising the money to be divided between the two brothers—a business-transaction which is known only to peoples possessing a higher culture than the Meitheis. It is for these reasons that I am inclined to think that the Meithei apologue is the original version and that the Bengali one is a later rendering of the former.

Then again, the following tabular statement will shew the close similarity of the human and non-human characters of the objects and of the incidents mentioned and described in the foregoing two variants of the apologue:—

The human and non-human characters, objects and incidents mentioned in the Meithei apologue.

The human and non-human characters, objects and incidents mentioned in the Bengali apologue.

(I) Father (without name) dies leaving 2 sons (without names).

(I) Father named Umākānta dies leaving 2 sons, of whom the elder one is named Ramākānta, and the younger one is named Shyamākānta.

(II) Father dies leaving—

(II) Father dies leaving—

(a) A she-buffalo.

(a) A cow.

(b) A pomegranate tree.

(b) An areca-nut tree.

(c) A curtain.

(c) A blanket.

(III) *The younger brother is more clever than his elder brother and therefore defrauds the latter.*

(III) *The elder brother is more clever than his younger brother and, therefore defrauds the latter.*

(IV) The younger brother takes the hind portion of the she-buffalo; while her front portion is given to the elder brother.

(IV) The elder brother takes the hind portion of the cow; while her front portion is given to the younger brother.

(V) The younger brother takes the top portion of the pomegranate tree; while the lower portion thereof is given to the elder one.

(V) The elder brother takes the top portion of the areca-nut tree while the lower portion thereof is given to the younger one.

(VI) The younger brother advantageously uses the curtain during the night; while it is left to the elder brother for use during the day-time.

(VI) The elder brother advantageously uses the blanket during the night; while it is left to the younger brother for use during the day-time.

(VII) The elder brother, *on the advice of his neighbours*, outwits his cunning younger brother—

(VII) The younger brother *on the advice of his brother-in-law*, outwits his cunning elder brother—

(a) *By pretending to cut the front-portion of the She-buffalo;*

(a) *By not feeding the cow for several days;*

The human and non-human characters, objects and incidents mentioned in the Meithei apologue.

The human and non-human characters, objects and incidents mentioned in the Bengali apologue.

(b) By pretending to cut down the lower portion of the pomegranate tree;

(c) By soaking the curtain in water during the day-time.

(VIII) Thereupon the Younger brother agrees to give his elder brother—

(a) Half-share of the she-buffalo's milk;

(b) Half-share of the fruits of the pomegranate tree;

(c) *Both the brothers agreed to use the curtain alternately.*

(b) By pretending to cut down the lower portion of the areca-nut tree;

(c) By soaking the blanket in water during the day-time.

(VII) Thereupon the elder brother agrees to give his younger brother—

(a) Half-share of the cow's milk;

(b) Half-share of the fruits of the areca-nut tree;

(c) *Half-share of the sale-proceeds of the blanket which was sold.*

Lastly, there arises the question: How did the Bengalis come in contact with the Meitheis or Manipuris and obtain the apologue from the latter?

In reply to this question, I have to state that Bengal and Assam adjoin the valley of Manipur on its western outskirts, and that there must always have been some, if not a considerable, communication and intermingling between the Bengalis and the Meitheis through Assam. It may, therefore, be presumed that, in the course of this communication with each other, the Ben-

galis might have heard this apologue being narrated by some Meithei man or woman and, thereby, have learnt it from the latter. Thereafter the Bengalis began to narrate it to the members of their own community and went on doing so for a considerable length of time. It is, however, in the course of its repeated recital through a long period of time that Bengali names came to be given to the human characters of the story, and that the incidents thereof came to be described with greater details and, in a few cases, with some changes and modifications.

I shall, now, conclude this paper by dealing with, and saying a few words about, the question: Whether any other variant or variants of this apologue from any other part of India or from Europe are known, and, if so, whether any story-radical fitting the same has been framed by the Folk-lore Society of London.

In answering this question in the negative, I should say that no other variant of this apologue either from any other part of India or from Europe is known to me and that, probably in the absence of any European variant, the London Folk-lore Society has not formulated any story-radical which fits into the preceding two apologues.

In the hope, however, that the future researches of some Storiologist may bring to light some other variant or variants of this apologue, I take the liberty to frame tentatively the following story-

82 On a Meithei Apologue and its Bengali Variant.

radical from the aforescribed Meithei and Bengali versions thereof:—

(1) Person dies leaving a milk-yielding beast, a fruit-bearing tree, and textile fabric.

(2) One of his two sons, who is more cunning than the other, defrauds the other by giving the latter the unproductive parts of the beast and the tree and by compelling the latter to keep the textile fabric during the day-time.

(3) The simpleton brother, on the advice of others, outwits his cunning brother by trickery.

(4) Thereafter each takes his half-share of the products of the beast and the tree, and uses the textile fabric alternately or divides the sale-proceeds thereof equally.

* This paper was read before the All Indian Science Congress at its eleventh session at Lucknow in January, 1924

V. PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOS OF KOLHAN.

By D. MAJUMDER, M. A.

Short stature, dark complexion, short broad and flat nose, small but dark eyes, wavy to curly hair, beard or moustaches absent,—these are some of the physical characters of the Hos of Kolhan. The complexion varies from sooty black to dark brown but often one meets with fair Hos and this may be traced to the fair Rajput traders who tour throughout the district with articles of daily use. The chin is narrow and the lips are medium. Slight prognathism is noticeable. Ears are small and finely developed. Slanting eyes are scarcely noticeable. Formerly they practised tattooing but the custom has fallen out of favour. Where tattooing is practised, only the forelimbs, especially the right hand is tattooed. The belief connected with the practice is that if a woman does not tatoo she commits a sin, for nothing goes with her to the next world but these marks on the limbs. They do not chip their teeth.

Anthropometry.

Measurements were taken of 200 Hos of different septs and localities and their cranial, nasal and facial indices worked out. Care has been taken to group the subjects on the basis of homogeneity i. e, the sample taken for anthropometric tests has common social standards and common traditional origin. For example, the Hos believe that the members of a sept are descended from a common

84 *Physical Characteristics of the Hos of Kolhan.*

ancestor and marriage is forbidden amongst them. A man of the Banra sept will not marry a girl of the same sept but of a different sept, say the Kalundi or the Deogam. So as regards tradition and social standing each sept is homogeneous and for this purpose I have recorded the tests of each sept separately. Another important point to be noted is the possible errors of measurement which may be called personal errors. However accurate the field-worker may be, errors are inevitable for the conditions of field work do not allow time enough to record the measurements in a way possible in the laboratory; when one has to finish a dozen or more tests in 15 minutes, it is not possible that he should apply his instrument a second time to verify his first record. But this can be remedied, to some extent, if we take a sufficient number of subjects of each group, measure them, deduct the personal error which may be ascertained by the laboratory method and then work out the average. For example, if the first record of head-length of an individual be 18.1 cms, the second record 18.2 cms, the third record 18.3 cms, the mean record must be 18.2 cms. But if instead of making three observations on the same individual, we take three individuals and get the records, 18.1 cms, 18.2 cms, 18.3 cms, deducting the personal errors we may arrive at the same average i. e., 18.2 cms for the head length, and for field work the second method is the only method possible, for we cannot make a subject submit to anthropometric tests for 45 minutes.

The comparative anthropometry of some 140 Hos of 11 different septs is given below. It is evident from the table, that the greater the number of subjects in a group, the more the average agrees with the general physical appearance of the tribe. The average indices for the Banra sept of which 44 subjects were measured are, cephalic 73.6, nasal 79.1, facial 92.3, whereas the average indices for the Jamuda sept of which only two subjects were available for measurement are cephalic 77.9, nasal 74.6, facial 90. Again only two subjects were measured of the Bansia sept, and this gave the following average indices, e. g. cephalic 79.4, nasal 80.3, facial 93.1. So in order to arrive at valid conclusions on the result of averages, there must be a decent number of subjects in each group.

Cephalic index.

Of the 200 measurements taken, 63 p. c. were found to be dolichocephalic, 47 p. c. were mesocephalic and 12 p. c. brachycephalic. The head length was measured from glabella to opistho-cranium—the point in the median sagittal line of the occiput, which is the farthest point from the glabella. The width was measured between the euryons, the most laterally projecting points on the sides of the head above the supramastoid and zygomatic crests. The average cephalic index for the Hos is 75.5. The Honhaga sept has the lowest average cephalic index, i. e. 73.0, and the Bansia the highest 79.4, the Banra has 73.6, the Sawaia 74.3, the Kalundia 74.7, the Barai munda

74.7, the Deogam 75.2, the Hembrom 75.9, the Purty 76.3, the Jamuda 77.9. Cases of artificial deformation of the head were noticed in the interior of Kolhan. A young man was seen with a well marked fronto-occipital deformation which showed a lateral increase in the shape of the head. Another was seen with an occipital flattening the tendency of which is to shorten the head in the antero-posterior direction. The custom of manipulating the head of the newborn baby is much prevalent amongst the aborigines and it is to be ascertained whether this manipulation of the head when the bones are in the process of ossification, has anything to do with the moulding of the head-form.

Nasal index.

The length of the nose was measured from the nasion, i. e., the point in the median sagittal line where the nasal bones join the frontal bone to the subnasale, i. e., the point where the septum of the nose joins the upper lip. The breadth was measured from alare to alare i. e., the laterally projecting points on the wings of the nose or nostrils. The point corresponding to the nasion is very vaguely defined and in many instances difficult to find. The width of the nose is taken at the widest point on the alae by some observers and at the point where the nose joins the face by others. As the measurements of both dimensions are very small, any small error of observation seriously affects the average. To add to it there is the custom of pressing the nose of a babe upwards with

fingers against the sides, and of pressing the finger against the hard palate to elevate the long septum of the palate so as to rectify any depression in the bridge of the nose. To come to the averages, the Monhaga sept has the highest nasal index i. e., 91·1, the Jamuda the lowest i. e., 74·6, the average nasal index for the Banra is 79·1, the Kalundia 77·5, the Deogam 79·5, the Hembrom 81·2, the Bansia 80·2, the Sawaia 76·0, the Baraimunda, 77·5, the Purty 78·7, the Lagauri 86·6.

Facial index.

The face length was measured from glabella to gnathion—the lowest point in the middle of the bony chin. The face-breadth was taken as the distance between the zygions, i. e. the most laterally projecting points on the two zygomatic arches. The head height was measured from the bregma, i. e., the point on the head where the frontal bone meets the two parietal bones, to the right earhole. As regards the facial index, the Lagauri sept has the lowest index, viz. 87·9, while the Kalundia has 94, the Banra, 92·3, the Deogam 93·1, the Hembrom 93·0, the Bansia, 93·2, the Sawaia 93·2, the Honhaga 89·1, the Jamuda 90, the Baraimunda 89·3, the Purty 90·0.

Stature and Arms' Reach.

The average stature is about 161 cms. The Bansia sept has the lowest stature (average for the sept) viz. 158·2 cms., while the Sawaia sept has the highest stature 164·0 cms., and individuals

measure 170 cms or more. The average stature for the Kalundia sept is 161·7 cms, the Deogam 161·8 cms, the Hembrom 160·1 cms, the Baraimunda 159·8 cms, the Purty 163·7 cms, the Honhaga 159·5 cms, the Lagauri 158·6 cms and that for the Banra is 160·5 cms. At the age of 30 a Deogam was measured to be 177 cms, at the age of 55 a Hembrom measured 159·4 cms only. So the Hos are below the average so far as the stature is concerned. The maximum arms' reach, i. e. 173·5, cms., is noticeable in the case of the Sawaia sept while the Honhaga sept has only 166·6 cms. The arms' reach is proportionate to the stature, the higher the stature the greater is the arms' reach and the difference between the stature and the arms' reach of a man ranges from 7 to 9 cms. The Bansia has an average arms' reach of 169·7 cms., the Lagauri has 172·8 cms., the Baraimunda, 167·2 cms., the Purty 172·2 cms., the Hembrom 168·6 cms., the Jamuda 168·0 cms., the Deogam, 171·0 cms., the Kalundia 172·0 cms., the Banra 169·3 cms. The average arms' reach for all the septs is 169·9 cms.

Sept—Honhaga.

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Honhaga Miran	16	157.1	160.3	18.2	13.8	4.3	3.6	11.1	12.4	12.3	71	Sindri
" Subdia	17	157.8	166.3	19.3	13.7	4.3	4.6	11.1	13.3	12.7	78	Sonara
" Bhagirath	17	163.5	173.3	19.3	13.9	4.9	4.2	12.4	13.2	13.9	77	Bisai
Average :—		159.5	166.6	18.9	13.8	4.5	4.1	11.5	12.9	12.9	72	

Sept—Bansia.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Bansia Moton	18	155.5	169.2	17.8	14.2	4.6	3.9	12.5	13.3	11.2	79	Chiru
" Mohendra	48	161.0	170.3	18.2	14.4	5.6	4.4	12.8	13.6	13.0	84	"
Average:—												
		158.2	169.7	18.0	14.3	5.2	4.1	12.6	13.4	12.1	81	

Sept—Lagauri.

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Juri Lagauri	19	165.7	171.0	18.4	14.7	4.3	4.2	11.3	13.0	13.3	80	Bogabari
Gopra "	28	161.6	174.7	18.3	14.0	4.7	3.7	12.1	13.7	12.2	85	"
Average:—												
		158.6	172.8	18.3	14.3	4.5	3.9	11.7	13.3	12.7	82	

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Nripat	20	160.9	170.6	19.5	13.9	5.0	4.3	12.3	13.2	13.0	80	Khaspukuria
Dubro	26	159.0	171.8	18.9	14.4	4.8	3.6	11.5	13.3	12.9	77	Rajabasa
Uli	30	167.0	171.7	17.7	13.5	4.7	3.7	11.8	13.2	12.5	82	Hitu
Hai	35	170.4	186.9	17.4	14.9	5.5	4.1	12.7	13.5	12.6	78	Kokchak
Sivai	35	168.6	170.2	18.6	13.5	4.9	3.9	11.9	13.4	12.2	83	Gumar
Jau	45	157.4	166.6	19.6	14.0	5.9	3.8	12.8	13.3	13.0	88	Kokchak
Gora	55	165.2	177.0	19.8	13.4	5.3	3.8	14.3	13.6	12.6	83	Gundipoa
Average:—		164.0	173.5	18.7	13.9	5.0	3.8	12.4	13.3	12.6	81	

Sept—Baraimunda

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Natural Chest	Head height	Native Village.
Baraimunda Pradhan	22	161.5	168.7	18.8	13.6	4.8	3.9	11.5	13.0	79	13.0	Jorapookur
" Raman	24	153.0	161.4	18.6	13.6	4.1	3.8	11.6	12.9	75	12.5	"
" Muchia	35	152.6	163.5	17.2	13.3	4.6	3.7	11.2	13.0	81	12.1	"
" Saban	35	162.5	171.3	18.4	14.0	5.4	3.4	11.7	13.5	77	13.1	"
" Lakan	36	161.5	171.9	17.6	13.7	4.8	3.8	11.6	12.9	80	11.1	"
" Modhua	38	154.8	160.4	19.4	13.8	4.9	3.6	12.0	13.1	82	13.2	"

Sept—Baraimunda. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Natural Chest	Head height	Native Village.
" Birsingh	40	152.0	160.3	18.3	13.6	5.0	4.2	11.5	12.7	78	12.0	"
" Modhua	45	155.6	160.0	17.6	14.0	4.7	3.8	12.4	13.4	84	12.9	,
" Maraki	48	169.9	173.8	18.5	13.6	5.1	4.5	12.6	13.4	81	12.5	"
Average :—		159.8	167.9	18.2	13.6	4.9	3.8	11.7	13.1	79.6	12.4	

Sept—Purty.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Natural Chest	Head height	Native Village.
Purty Juria	17	167.5	178.3	18.0	14.6	5.1	3.5	11.5	13.2	71	12.8	Choyasai
" Ghanashyam	18	166.3	173.4	18.2	13.9	4.3	4.0	11.2	12.8	82	12.0	Tirumbasa
" Surji	34	161.8	174.4	19.0	13.5	4.8	3.5	12.2	13.3	77	12.0	Mundaial
" Dibai	35	166.1	155.8	18.7	13.9	5.0	3.8	12.6	13.2	84	12.3	Pendrasali
" Damu	45	157.0	179.3	17.1	13.9	4.5	3.9	11.5	13.0	77	13.1	Amlabari
Average:—		163.7	172.2	18.2	13.2	4.7	3.7	11.8	13.1	78	12.4	

Sept—Hembrom.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's Reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Hembrom Antu	17	171.7	172.6	19.0	13.5	5.1	3.4	12.0	12.6	12.6	78	Nakohasa
" Bike	17	157.7	168.3	17.1	14.4	4.6	4.0	11.7	13.2	11.5	76	Chiru
" Mohendra	17	158.3	169.0	17.8	14.5	4.7	4.2	12.2	13.8	11.6	76	Chiru
" Roga	28	158.0	169.3	18.8	14.3	4.9	3.5	12.3	13.5	12.3	78	Chiru
" Kaloman	38	165.9	175.7	19.0	13.5	5.0	3.8	12.0	12.2	12.2	76	"
" Mati	30	158.5	165.0	18.0	13.6	4.8	3.8	12.5	12.8	12.9	80	Uli Rajabasa

Sept—Hembrom (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Durga	44	164.1	168.7	18.8	13.6	4.4	4.4	11.9	12.8	11.8	78	Chiru
" Misrai	44	158.7	167.1	17.9	13.5	5.3	4.0	12.5	12.8	10.2	76	"
" Kanda	55	149.4	161.9	18.2	14.2	5.2	4.0	12.0	13.3	11.3	72	"
Average:—												
		160.1	168.6	18.3	13.9	4.8	3.9	12.1	13.0	11.8	76.6	

Sept—Jamuda.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Jamuda Kaira	16	155.8	161.0	18.2	13.7	4.4	3.6	11.2	12.7	13.7	74	Burigora
" Birsinha	46	166.5	175.0	18.1	14.6	5.1	3.5	12.2	13.2	12.2	79	Arugunda
Average:—												
		161.1	168.0	18.1	14.1	4.7	3.5	11.6	12.9	12.9	75.5	

Sept—Deogam.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Sahu	18	159.7	168.6	17.5	13.6	4.6	3.6	11.4	13.0	11.6	74	Dumbissai
Siva	19	156.7	165.0	18.2	13.1	4.5	3.4	12.4	12.6	11.1	77	"
Bhagaman	20	167.2	181.0	18.0	13.3	5.6	4.3	12.1	12.9	12.0	85	"
Durga	21	166.0	177.5	18.5	13.6	4.7	4.3	11.2	12.7	13.0	77	"
Gangaram	22	165.0	178.2	19.1	13.7	5.3	3.7	13.5	13.6	12.2	83	"
Monai	25	158.0	162.7	18.5	13.9	4.9	3.3	11.7	12.8	11.8	77	"

Sept—Deogam. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Kanuram	26	169.2	178.4	18.4	14.3	5.0	4.4	12.2	13.5	12.0	78	"
Gono	27	156.0	167.2	17.5	13.2	4.8	3.6	11.6	12.6	11.6	80	"
Mukia	27	163.8	172.0	19.1	13.7	4.9	3.9	12.5	13.2	12.9	79.5	"
Dulu	28	163.8	167.2	18.3	13.7	4.7	4.0	12.5	13.4	12.0	85	"
Mahati	28	157.3	162.7	18.8	13.6	5.2	4.0	12.0	13.1	11.6	79	"
Mohan	30	150.8	159.0	17.5	13.7	5.2	3.7	12.0	13.0	12.6	82	Kainjia

Sept—Deogam (Contd.)

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Boguin	30	177.5	187.5	18.4	14.2	4.9	3.9	12.8	13.7	13.1	86	Dumbisai
Nanda	35	165.0	178.3	18.2	14.7	4.8	4.2	12.3	13.7	12.7	88	Kokchak
Sunua	35	159.0	174.7	18.4	13.5	4.9	4.1	12.1	13.7	12.2	84	Kainjia
Gangaram	40	162.0	170.6	18.3	13.8	5.7	3.8	12.8	13.5	11.8	80	Banandia
Gosa	40	169.2	169.5	18.0	14.4	5.0	4.0	12.8	13.6	12.8	82	Dumbisai
Sidhi	48	163.1	168.8	17.8	13.7	5.0	4.0	11.8	12.8	11.8	77	"

Sept—Deogam (Contd.)

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Kiti	50	157.0	163.6	17.8	14.1	4.8	3.8	11.6	13.4	11.0	72	Chiru
Shambhu	50	156.4	168.6	18.7	13.7	5.8	4.0	12.8	13.1	12.1	76	Dumbisai
Average :—												
		161.8	171.0	18.2	13.7	4.9	3.9	12.2	13.1	12.0	79	

Sept—Kalundia.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Bamia Kalundia	18	151.0	155.7	18.7	13.3	3.8	3.5	10.9	12.2	12.4	75	Kochak
Juria "	18	154.4	166.0	18.0	13.5	5.0	3.7	12.1	12.0	13.0	73	"
Turam "	19	158.7	164.0	18.2	13.7	4.3	3.5	11.7	13.2	12.3	82	"
Kity "	20	163.0	171.5	19.1	13.6	4.7	4.0	12.2	12.5	12.6	75	"
Khari "	29	157.0	168.8	19.3	13.7	4.5	4.0	11.8	13.1	12.3	86	"
Gandi "	30	153.5	153.3	19.1	13.8	4.5	3.3	11.6	12.8	12.5	79	"

Sept—Kalundia. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Pundu "	30	176.0	187.6	19.1	14.3	4.7	4.4	12.0	13.7	13.0	88	"
Dulphu "	31	171.8	190.2	18.2	13.9	5.2	3.6	12.8	13.8	12.2	90	"
Chamra "	34	164.0	178.2	17.3	14.6	5.3	3.7	12.8	14.1	12.0	82	"
Marakhi "	34	153.2	159.9	17.7	14.2	5.0	3.6	11.2	13.3	12.3	80	"
Harichand "	35	162.0	170.4	19.0	14.5	4.8	4.0	13.0	13.3	11.7	84	"
Mahati "	35	164.8	181.5	19.2	13.6	5.1	4.0	13.2	12.8	12.5	83	"

Sept—Kalundia. (Contd.)

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Munli	38	165·7	174·4	13·3	13·9	5·4	3·8	13·7	13·8	12·5	79	"
Rango	40	152·9	172·8	17·9	13·3	4·5	3·7	10·9	12·9	13·2	79	"
Hidu	42	160·0	165·6	18·8	13·8	4·7	4·0	12·5	12·9	13·1	84	"
Bijoy	45	167·0	177·7	18·1	14·3	5·5	4·2	13·8	13·3	12·5	87	"
Domra	48	163·3	176·0	19·2	14·7	5·0	4·1	13·0	13·1	12·8	85	"
Jagu	50	157·3	165·5	19·5	14·1	5·0	3·7	12·5	13·2	11·3	80	"

Sept—Kalundia. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Mukhi	50	171.4	185.0	18.3	13.9	5.5	3.8	14.0	14.2	12.2	93	"
Dumbi	60	167.3	181.0	19.2	13.7	5.5	4.3	14.2	13.7	12.7	84	"
Average:—												
		161.7	172.0	18.6	13.9	4.9	3.8	12.4	13.2	12.4	82	

Sept—Banra.

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
Banra Rasi	16	164.2	167.3	18.8	13.1	4.6	3.6	11.6	12.2	13.1	74	Gumdimen
" Dibar	16	156.0	158.9	18.0	12.3	4.1	3.7	11.7	12.5	12.2	77	Hailai
" Motai	18	160.2	169.0	19.2	14.0	5.1	4.9	11.6	13.4	12.5	80	Unchur
" Kande	19	161.0	171.6	18.0	13.1	4.5	3.1	11.1	12.3	12.3	78	Rajabasa
" Gunda	19	167.7	177.7	18.7	14.3	4.7	4.0	12.0	13.5	12.0	79	Gumdimen
" Duluram	19	161.9	166.8	17.6	14.1	5.1	4.1	11.7	13.5	12.7	78	Chiru

Sept—Banra. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Sura	20	156.6	169.2	18.2	13.8	4.8	3.7	12.7	13.4	11.9	87	Raigutu
" Patar	22	166.0	175.3	17.9	13.4	4.7	3.7	12.7	12.6	11.8	76	Gitalpir
" Dibar	24	154.5	157.9	18.7	14.3	5.2	4.0	12.1	13.1	11.5	76	Ketahatu
" Dibar	25	155.8	163.0	19.0	14.4	4.9	3.9	12.3	13.5	13.0	82	Rajabasa
" Rando	25	150.7	158.4	18.5	14.6	5.0	3.8	11.5	13.5	12.2	77	Kokchak
" Bejoy	25	159.8	173.0	18.8	14.2	5.0	3.5	11.2	12.1	12.2	77	Chiru

Sept—Banra.. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Baji	27	161.0	168.8	17.8	14.0	5.2	3.7	12.3	13.5	12.5	79	Rajabasa
" Mangta	27	157.4	168.5	17.8	14.0	4.6	3.6	11.9	13.2	12.0	81	Raigutu
" Ohakra	28	157.7	160.2	18.0	13.5	4.8	3.8	12.0	12.8	12.9	79	Gatusa.
" Ganga	29	158.5	167.0	18.6	13.8	4.8	3.9	11.5	13.7	12.7	77	Rajabasa
" Nagen	29	164.2	170.1	17.6	13.3	5.0	3.9	11.5	12.5	12.7	80	Unchuri
" Sunu	29	167.8	170.0	19.1	14.0	4.9	4.0	12.9	13.4	13.2	83	Ketahatu

Sept—Banra. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Samu	29	162.7	164.3	19.2	13.8	4.7	3.7	11.8	13.8	11.6	83	Chiru
" Dibar	30	173.2	186.8	19.5	13.8	5.3	4.0	12.0	12.8	12.3	87	Chiru
" Sakhari	30	156.5	169.8	18.3	13.5	5.3	3.6	13.0	13.6	12.6	79	Kokchak
" Udia	32	164.8	176.7	19.6	14.2	5.2	3.5	12.2	13.5	12.3	86	Rajabasa
" Selai	33	154.8	170.2	18.7	13.5	4.6	4.3	11.5	13.0	12.3	80	Sika
" Marakhi	33	161.0	173.5	19.0	14.3	4.7	3.7	12.5	13.1	12.9	73	Chiru

Sept—Banra. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Sadhu	33	161.3	167.8	18.3	14.4	4.6	4.5	12.2	13.2	13.6	82	Chiru
" Dirsa	34	154.3	162.5	18.4	13.2	4.8	4.0	11.7	12.8	11.5	79	"
" Tuan	31	169.2	178.5	19.7	13.8	4.6	3.8	11.8	13.2	13.5	83	"
" Chamro	34	156.0	170.0	19.0	14.5	5.2	4.4	12.6	13.7	12.6	73	"
" Turi	34	167.6	173.0	18.8	13.9	4.8	3.9	11.5	13.5	12.0	81	Rajabasa
" Bejoy	35	155.8	168.8	17.8	13.2	4.8	3.7	11.3	13.0	12.5	79	Rajabasa

Sept--Banra. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Maji	36	166.8	179.7	19.5	14.1	4.8	3.9	12.2	13.5	12.9	85	Rajabasa
" Durga	40	168.8	173.0	19.0	13.9	4.9	4.4	12.5	13.8	12.4	80	Ketahatu
" Bugi	40	158.8	168.5	19.0	13.3	4.6	3.6	12.1	12.2	11.7	75	Chiru
" Pato	40	173.3	182.7	19.2	14.5	4.5	4.0	11.8	13.6	12.5	87	"
" Durga	42	159.4	168.8	18.1	13.3	4.2	3.6	11.1	12.8	12.4	76	"
" Siba	46	152.0	164.8	18.6	13.0	4.8	3.4	11.7	11.8	10.8	73	"

Sept—Banra (Contd.)

Name.	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village.
" Kudra	48	161.7	168.6	18.6	13.6	5.5	4.0	12.7	13.2	11.5	72	"
" Surju	48	160.0	168.0	18.0	12.7	5.2	4.1	12.5	12.6	11.8	72	"
" Burgi	50	152.1	158.6	18.2	12.4	4.5	4.0	12.5	12.6	11.5	75	"
" Divai	55	161.7	170.5	19.0	14.5	5.6	3.8	12.7	13.4	12.6	84	Ketahatu
" Motai	55	156.0	162.0	19.0	13.4	4.7	4.1	12.4	12.8	11.7	78	Chiru

Sept—Banra. (Contd.)

Name	Age	Stature	Arm's reach	Head length	Head breadth	Nose length	Nose breadth	Face length	Face breadth	Head height	Chest	Native Village
" Purnu	58	157.6	174.6	18.2	13.6	5.0	3.5	11.8	11.8	12.8	72	Chiru
" Boy	60	158.5	164.6	19.0	13.7	5.3	3.8	12.0	13.2	13.0	71	"
Average:—												
		160.5	169.3	18.6	13.7	4.8	3.8	12.0	13.0	12.3	78	

VI. ON THE CULT OF THE JUJUBE-TREE.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA M. A.

*Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of
Calcutta.*

The doctrine of Animism or the belief that spiritual beings pervade nature, which has been so lucidly expounded by Professor Sir E. B. Tylor in his great work on *Primitive Culture*, assumes two forms or modifications. In the first form or modification, the spirit or spiritual being is thought of as being immanent in matter, that is to say, some inanimate object such as a rock, a stream or a tree is believed to be the *manifestation* or *embodiment* of that spirit or spiritual being. In the second form or modification of the doctrine of Animism, the inanimate object, as for instance, a mountain, a rock, a crag, a stream or a tree, is believed to be the *habitation* of some spirit or spiritual being, more or less separable from his dwelling-place, and visible, if at all, in some other shape or shapes.

We have already shown that, in some parts of Eastern Bengal, there is prevalent the curious cult of the Tree-goddess, the outstanding and underlying idea of which cult is that some tree, such as the *sheora*-tree (*Strhblus asper*), the *uduma* or the *dumura*-tree (*Ficus glomerata*) or the *Kamini*-tree (*Murraya axotica*) is believed to be either (1) the *embodiment* or *manifestation* of, or (2) is conceived of as being the *habitation* or *dwelling-place* of, the goddessling Banā Durgā (or

"*Durgā of the forest*"), Bana Devī (or "*the goddess of the forest*"), or *Burhā Thākuraṇī* (or "*the Old Dame.*") *

In this paper, I shall deal with and discuss another curious cult which is current in the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal and in some parts of the district of Nadiyā in Central Bengal. In this cult, the jujube-tree [कुल गाढ़ (*Zizyphus jujuba*)] is believed to be either (i) the *embodiment* or *manifestation* of a godling named Iṭokumāra (इटोकुमार) or (ii) to be his deity-ship's *habitation* or *dwelling-place*; and, as the result of this belief, this tree or rather a branch of it is worshipped and prayed-to by unmarried girls.

It has been stated that the name Iṭokumāra (इटोकुमार) may be a corruption of the name Ishtakumāra (इष्ट कुमार) which means "*the Bachelor godling who is Coveted (as a Husband by the Maiden-girls.)*"

The *vrata* or ceremonial worship of this godling Iṭokumāra, who is believed to be immanent in the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), is performed only by unmarried girls; whereas its performance by married girls is strictly prohibited.

No Brāhmaṇa-priest officiates in this worship. The maiden-girls, who celebrate or perform this *vrata*, themselves act as priestesses therein.

The method of worshipping this godling is as follows :—

* Vide my paper *On the Cult of the Tree-Goddess in Eastern Bengal* in *Man in India* for December 1922, pp. 228—241.

In the Bengali month of Fālguna (February-March), on the advent of the Spring season, the maiden-girls of the countryside gather a branch, budding forth into new and tender leaves, of the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), plant it in some lonely and quiet spot under the eaves of the roofs of their respective houses or under those of the thatches of their huts; and there they worship it by presenting to it the gorgeous scarlet flowers (or, to quote Bishop Heber's words, "the ceibas' crimson pomp") of the silk-cotton or *Simultree* (*Bombax mala-barica*), the *palāsa-tree* (*Butea frondosa*) and other wild flowers. It is for this reason that some persons have conjectured that this cult is a rural modification of the ancient Spring Festival.

The performance of this *vrata* or the ceremonial worship of the godling Iṭokumāra or Ishṭakumāra is begun in the evening of the first day of the Bengali month of Fālguna (February-March) and is repeated in the evening of every succeeding day of the same Bengali month, and is finished in the evening of the *Sanikrānti* or the last day thereof.

On the last day of this ceremonial worship, offerings of rice-pudding (पायस) cooked without eggs, are presented to the godling Iṭokumāra. Thereafter, the branch of the jujube-tree, which had been planted under the eaves of the house, worshipped and prayed to during the whole of the Bengali month of Fālguna (February-March), is thrown into some neighbouring tank or stream.

The *mantras* or prayer-formulæ or charm-formulæ recited on the occasion of the worship of this godling—Iṭokumāra or Ishtakumāra—appear to be meaningless folk-rhymes which are chanted by the womenfolk of the countryside. Different versions of these prayer formulæ or charm-formulæ are current in different vollages. But the *mantra* or prayer-formula by the recital of which this godling is invoked at the commencement of his worship (प्रथम उद्घोषन), and that to the accompaniment of the recital of which the celebrant-maidens do obeisance to this godling after his worship has been finished (शेष पूजा समाप्तिर पर प्रणामेर् छडा) are the same in language and sentiment everywhere.

The text and the English translation of the prayer-formula by the recital of which the godling Iṭokumāra is invoked at the beginning of his worship are as follows:—

Text in Devanagari Script.

“ १। इष्ट कुमारेर मा लोभिते वेंधे दे।

२। तोर छेलेर वे हवे बाजना एने दे॥

Translation.

1. “O mother of (the godling)—Ishtakumāra ! erect a house [(*lit.*, lay a foundation) for your son].

2. As your son is going to be married, (engage and) bring a band of musicians (*lit.*, musical instrument).”

The text (in Devanāgarī script) and the English translation of the prayer-formula or Charm-

formula to the accompaniment of the recital of which the celebrant-maidens do obeisance to this "Bachelor-godling who is Coveted as a Husband", are as follows:—

Text.

“ १। एषार याओ ठाकुर फोट् पांचड़ा वये ।

२। आर वार एसो तुमि शङ्ख सिंदर लये ॥”

Translation.

1. “O godling ! this year (*lit.*, time) go away, taking (with you) the physical ailments and the moral evils (and misfortunes) (that are impending over us) (*lit.*, boils and itches).

2. In the coming year (*lit.*, next time), come and bring with you (for us) shell-bracelets and vermilion, (that is to say, the happiness and the blessings of a married life). *

The most noteworthy facts connected with the afore-described cult are:—

(1) That the godling Itokumāra or Ishṭakumāra has no anthropomorphic image.

(2) That he is believed to be immanent in the branch of the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*).

(3) That his name does not appear to be mentioned either in the Vedas, the *Purāṇas*, or in any one of the other works on Hindu mythology.

* For the description of the worship of the godling Itokumāra. I am indebted to a Bengali article entitled: “*Itokumārera Pūjā*”, which was published at page 250 of the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāṣī* (published from Calcutta) for Jyaishta—1330 B. S. (May-June 1923 A. D.).

(4) That no Brāhmaṇa priest officiates in his worship.

(5) That the celebrant maidens (or unmarried girls) themselves act as priestesses in this worship.

(6) That the worship of this godling by married girls is strictly prohibited.

(7) That the two *mantras* or prayer-formulæ or charm-formulæ recited at the beginning of his worship and at the conclusion thereof are not translations of any Sanskrit texts, but appear, from the dialect-words occurring therein, to be the compositions of the women folk of the country-side.

From a consideration of the foregoing facts, I am definitely of opinion that this "Cult of the Jujube-tree" or the worship of the godling Iṭo-kumāra originated in the bare and simple recital or chanting by the rustic maidens or unmarried girls, of some magico-religious rhymes or charm-formulæ, of which the sole object was to do away with—to put an end to—the reciters' or chanters' enemy or source of trouble, their maidenhood or unmarried state.

As no power over the personality of the spiritual being or enemy who is mainly responsible for their maidenhood, could be obtained unless and until he was invested with a name, I am inclined to think that the womenfolk of the country side dubbed him with the name of Iṭo-kumāra (or Ishtakumār) and made him the central figure-head with reference to whom the aforementioned magical formulæ were recited or chanted.

Then, again, from what I shall state below, it would appear that, by narrating or describing the imaginary occurrence of some events connected with Itokumāra, the happening of which events is supposed by the reciters or narrators thereof to result in his godlingship's marriage, the celebrant maidens seek, by the magical force and power of the aforementioned charm-formulæ, to bring about the happening of their own marriages. All this will be evident from a careful examination of the texts of the aforementioned *mantras* or charm-formulæ.

It will not be out of place to state here that the exponents of Cultural Anthropology, which, as an instance of the saying that "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large", is but another name for the Science of folklore, have come to the conclusion that the *mantras* or prayer-formulæ made up of one or more of the undermentioned elements: *

- (a) Sacred or powerful names;
- (b) Invocations, threats, or entreaties;
- (c) Expressions of the commands, or wishes or intentions of the operator;
- (d) Sacred narratives of events similar to that which it is desired by the narrator to bring about;
- (e) The exponents of Cultural Anthropology are further of opinion that, in dealing with

* *The Handbook of Folklore*, By C. S. Burne, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914. Page 148.

spirits or invisible beings such as godlings and goddesslings, it is essentially important for the performer of magico-religious rites to be acquainted with the name of that spirit or being or, failing knowledge thereof, to dub that unknown spirit or being with some name or designation; because naturally, the aforementioned performer can exercise controlling or compelling power over the personality of a bodiless being *only through and by means of the latter's name.*

Now, if, in the light of the foregoing remarks, we would carefully examine the texts of the two *mantras* or charm-formulæ given above, we would find that the aforementioned elements (b) (d) and (e) are present therein.

Let us, first of all, take the point (e). We find that, in both the foregoing charm-formulæ, the womenfolk of the countryside, who have composed the same, have given the name of Iṭo-kumāra of Isṭākumāra to the bodiless and invisible being or godling, who is responsible for their girls' maidenhood and who alone can remove it, in order that the reciters of those charm-formulæ might be enabled to exercise compelling power over him—to coerce him into removing their state of maidenhood.

I shall next take up and deal with the elements (b) and (d), both of which are present in the two *mantras*.

We know that the main characteristic of the

element or factor (*d*) is "the simple narration of an event with a sequel similar to what the charm-reciter now desires," as will appear from the following striking example thereof which is in vogue in Cornwall, and, in a more or less modified form in Kerry, Saxony, and many of the English Counties and which is used for the cure of tooth ache :—

"Peter sat at the gate of Jerusalem. Jesus cometh to him and saith, 'Peter, what aileth thee.' He saith, 'Lord, I am grievously tormented with the tooth-ache.' He saith, 'Arise, Peter, and follow me.' He did so, and immediately the toothache left him; and he followed him, the name of the Father, and of the son, and of the Holy Ghost." *

In the two charm-formulæ recited or chanted by the maiden-celebrants of the worship of the godling Iṭokumāra, they *entreated* that bodiless and invisible being and his imaginary mother to cause certain events to take place in his godlingship's own life, the happening of which would result in similar events taking place in their own lives.

In the first *mantra*, Iṭokumāra's mother is entreated to build a house for her son and to bring a band of musicians, as Iṭokumāra would be married. By the narration of the imaginary occurrence of these events, the maiden-celebrants of the worship desire and pray that their future husbands, whose exemplar is Iṭokumāra or Iṣṭa-

* *The Handbook of Folklore.* By G. L. Gomme. London : David Nutt. 1890. Pages 51-52.

kumāra, might be blessed with an abundance of wealth and property and that their marriages with them might be celebrated with some *eclat*.

Similarly, in the second charm-formula, the unmarried girls *entreat* the godling Iṭokumāra himself to bring shell-bracelets and vermilion (apparently for his own wife) as he would be married soon. By describing the imaginary happening of these events, the maiden girls desire and pray that their future husbands, whose model is Iṭokumāra, should come and bring with them shell-bracelets and vermilion, for the purpose of marrying them with.

The time is most appropriate for the performance of the afore-described simple rites which have now developed into "*the Cult of the Jujube-tree*". It is the commencement of the spring season.

Lord Tennyson, in his *Locksley Hall*, sang:—

"In the spring a livlier iris changes on the
burnished dove.

In the spring a young man's fancy lightly
turns to thoughts of love."

Modifying the second line of the preceding couplet a little, we many say:—

"In the spring a young *girl's* fancy lightly
turns to thoughts of love".

It is for this reason that the young and unmarried girls of the countryside, on the advent of spring, perform the afore-described simple folk-rites which include the recital or chanting of the charm-formulæ given above, in order that they might get married soon.

Then arises the question: Why, of all other trees, is the jujube-tree or country-plum tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) looked upon as the *manifestation* or *embodiment* or the *habitation* of the bodiless and invisible being Itokumāra.

In the present state of my knowledge, I am unable to give a satisfactory answer to the preceding question, But I venture to think that, because, at the commencement of the spring season, the jujube-trees or country-plum trees put forth tender leaves of a delicate green colour and whitish green blossoms which emit a delightful fragrance of a mild character, and, thereby, become "things of beauty" and "joys for ever", they appeal to the æsthetic sensibility of the womenfolk of the country-side. It is, for this reason, that these latter hit upon these trees as the appropriate symbol of the godling Itokumāra

In addition to the jujube-tree's appealing to the æsthetic sensibility of the womenfolk of the countryside, it appears to possess some sort of magico-religious virtue or potency by reason of which the leaves of this tree are also used in the performance of another ceremonial worship or *vrata* by the maidens or unmarried girls of Eastern Bengal. This last-mentioned ceremonial worship or cult is known as the *Kulakulatī vrata* (कुलकुलती व्रत).

The maiden girls of Eastern Bengal commence the performance of this ceremonial worship or folk-rite in the evening of the last day (*Sanikrānti*) of the Bengali month of As'vina (September-

October). This worship is performed in the evening at the foot of the sacred basil or *tulasi*-plant [तुलसी गद्य (*Ocimum sanctum*)].

Each of the celebrant-maidens has to take three *gandas* and three (that is to say, 15) leaves of the jujube-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*) and, then, to spread out the same at the foot of the aforementioned *tulasi*-plant.

Then each of them should light a saucer-lamp certaining oil and a wick made of new cloth.

Thereafter each of them should take, in her hand, the lighted saucer-lamp, and, after purifying her body and mind (that is to say, after entertaining holy thoughts in her mind), should recite the following prayer-formula :—

“ १. कुलकुलती कुलवती ।

२. तुलसी तलाय दलाम बाती ॥ ”

Or

“1 and 2. (O goddessling) Kulakulati who is possessed of all womanly virtues (*lit.*, who is a respectable lady)! I have lighted and placed a saucer-lamp at the foot of the sacred basil or *tulasi*-plant (and have, thereby, done worship to you).”

After reciting the preceding prayer-formula *thrice* and passing the lighted saucer-lamp *thrice* [Mark that *three* is a sacred number] with her hand round the aforementioned *tulasi*-plant, each of them should do obeisance to this sacred basil plant to the accompaniment of the recital of the undermentioned prayer-formula :—

१. हरिप्रिया तुलसीदेवी करि नमस्कार ।

२. अन्त काले करो मागो भव नदी पार ॥

Or

“1. (O) goddess Tulasī who is the wife of Hari (or Vishnu)! I do obeisance (to you).

2. O mother! (grant me this boon, namely that) I may finish my earthly career peacefully (*lit.*, ferry me across the river of this world at my last moment).”

These rites of worship should be repeated every evening till the last day (*Sankrānti*) of the Bengali month of Kārttika (October-November).

The ceremonial worship or *vrata* (folk-rite) has to be performed by the maiden girls for four years consecutively. *

[Note the similarity of the Bengali name *Kulagāchha* (कुलगाछ) of the jujube-tree and the first portion *Kula* (कुल) of the name *Kulakulatī* (कुलकुलती) of the goddessling who is the object of worship in this *vrata* or folk-rite.

Then again, some kind of magico-medical property is also believed to be inherent in the *Kula* or jujube-tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), by reason of which its leaves are, first of all, presented as offerings to the goddess Gārs'ī on the occasion of her worship in various parts of Eastern Bengal, and then, being mixed with mustard-seeds and fenu-greek-seeds, are made into a paste with which the celebrants of the worship of this goddess besmear their bodies.

* Vide pages 81-83 of *Thanadidira Thaley* by Dakshinā Ranjana Mitra Majumdāra.

I am, therefore, further of opinion that the aforementioned magico-religious virtue or potency and magico-medical property, which are believed to be inherent in the *Kula* or jujube-tree, have also led to this tree being hit upon as the symbol of the godling *Iṭokumāra*.

This cult affords an illustration of the curious fact that, sometimes a particular godling of the Hindu Pantheon discharges different functions. This will be evident from the first line of the charm-formula No. II, which has been given above and which runs to the following effect:—

“O godling! this year go away, taking (with you) the boils and itches”.

Now, this would seem to indicate that the godling *Iṭokumāra*, in addition to being the deity presiding over matrimony, also exercises jurisdiction over the domain of such ailments as boils and itches. This being so, his godlingship would appear to be a colleague of another godling of the Hindu Pantheon whose name is *Ghantākarna* or *Ghenṭu* (घण्टाकर्ण वा घेण्ट), who also presides over boils and itches, and who is worshipped in every Bengali household in Lower Bengal. This latter deity is worshipped very early in the morning of the last day (*Sankrānti*) of the Bengali month of *Falgunā* (February-March) in order that he may protect this worshipper and her family-members from being afflicted by such ailments as boils and itches throughout the ensuing year. In this worship also, no *Brāhmaṇa*-priest officiates. But it is the most elderly lady of the family who

acts as priestess therein. The godling Ghantākarna is represented by a soot-besmeared earthen pot which is turned upside down and plastered all over with cow-dung. On this plaster of cow-dung, some cowry-shells are stuck. *

But we find that the godling Ghantākarna or Ghantākaran (who is, I believe, identical with the godling of that name who presides over boils and itches) acts as the warden or *dvārapāla* of the temple of some greater god at Badrinātha in the Himālayas. *

Similarly, the goddess Manasā presides over snakes. But, in Eastern Bengal this goddess is also believed to preside over cholera. Therefore, whenever an epidemic of cholera breaks out in the countryside in that part of Bengal, this goddess is worshipped with great *eclat*. In this capacity, her deityship plays the role of a colleague of the orthodox Hindu Cholera-goddess Olā Bibi or the Lady of the Fluxes").

In Eastern Bengal, there are shrines which are especially dedicated to the goddess Manasā. These are known as *manasākholās* (मानसा खोला) or "Plots of land set apart for the worship of Manasā."

* For further details of the worship of the godling Ghantākarna, see pages 194-197 of my paper on "*The Cult of the Lake-goddess of Orissa*" published at pages 190-197 of *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII.

* *The Handbook of Folklore*. By C. S. Burne, New edition, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1914. Page 122.

But there are no such shrines in Western Bengal where this goddess is represented by a branch of the *manasā* or *siju*-tree or spurge-wart (*Euphorbia nerifolia*).

On the Das'aharā day [that is to say, on the 10th day in the light fortnight of the Bengali month of Jyāishṭha (May-June)], on which day the river-goddess Gangā or Ganges is worshipped and prayed-to, this branch of the *manasā*-tree or spurge-wort is planted in the house and then, worshipped for several months onsecutively.

In the households of the Brāhmanas, this planted branch of the *manasā*-tree is worshipped every day; But, in the households of the members of the Sūdra caste, it is worshipped on the fifth days of the bright and dark fortnights of every succeeding Bengali month till the Bijayā Day in the month of As'vina (September-October). This worshipped branch of the *manasā*-tree, together with the other nine plants [*lit*, nine leaves (नवपत्रिका)] which are worshipped in connection with the worship of the goddess Durgā, * is thrown into some river or tank on the Bijayā Dasami Day, that is to say, on the 10th day in the light fortnight of the Bengali month of As'vina (September-October), on which day the aforementioned goddess Durgā is finally worshipped; and

* For the details of this Cult of the Nine Plants or Leaves, see page 130-132 of Rama Prasad Chanda's *The Indo-Aryan Races* (Edition of 1916) published by the Varendra Research Society of Rājshahi.

her deityship's image is then thrown into some sheet of water. *

[Compare the Hindu worship of Itakumara or Ishtakumara, the godling of matrimony, with the cult of Hymen or Hymenæus *who is, in Greek mythology, the god of marriage, the son of Bacchus and Venus, or, according to another account, of Apollo and one of the Muses, and who is usually represented as carrying a bridal torch.*]

* *Vide* page 733 of the Bengali monthly magazine *Pravasi* (published from Calcutta) for Bhādra 1329 B. S. (August-September 1922 A. D.)

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

The twelfth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress held its sittings at Benares in January, 1925. The Presidential address to the Anthropological section was delivered by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, B. Sc., M. A. (Cantab.) the subject of the address being, "Race Mixture in Bengal." In this address, which was illustrated with lantern-slides, Prof. Mahalanobis maintained that the problem of caste resemblance was much more complex than previous workers had assumed. By a statistical analysis of anthropometric measurements, he attempted to show that each caste in India exhibited a dual set of affinities, one set of affinities with other local castes of different social status and another set with castes of other provinces of the same or similar social status. After a hurried review of older theories, Prof. Mahalanobis gave a provisional account of racial affinities and tendencies based on available anthropometric data. He particularly discussed the racial position of the Anglo-Indian group in their relations to Indian castes and tribes.

Abstracts of some of the interesting papers read at the anthropological section of the Congress are given below.

1. *Observations on some of the Megalithic Monuments in the vicinities of Halgur and Chennapatna (Mysore State).*—By B. RAMA RAO.

The megalithic monuments found in the neighbourhood of Halgur and of Chennapatna have been

classified into (1) Cromlechs or Sepulchral Monuments of stone Circles, (2) Virakal and Mastikal or the Heroic Monuments of Single Slabs, and (3) Devakal or the Monuments of Abodes of worship. These are briefly described in the paper and all are regarded as of remote antiquity though their periods of erection are believed to have had a wide range in time. The Cromlechs forming the oldest of these monuments are thought to be of iron age men or their immediate successors; the Devakal coming next in order is suggested to be of the ancient Shaivite worshippers of early centuries; and the Virakal and Mastikals are regarded as of the historic races of much later periods.

2. *Some hand grasp designs in the Paleoliths found in Mysore.*—By P. SAMPAT IYENGAR.

The paleolithic finds at Biligere, Tiptur taluk in the Mysore State, have revealed numerous clever hand grasp designs suited to the purpose for which each tool was probably intended. The hammer stones, which have sharp edges all round, have grooves in the middle of the sides for the resting of the thumb and the other fingers, care being taken to avoid the slipping of the thumb by the provision of ridges close by. The combination types of scraper and sword have all been designed to be used in either the right or the left hand so as to enable the requisite edge being presented outwards. The stones employed for the saws are heavy and these present devices for obtaining a powerful grip. The peculiar shaped chisels are designed to produce the guillotinè effect

and spaces are provided either for hand grasp or for shuffling. Some of the offensive weapons such as the arrow heads have admirable hand grasp designs quite different to those already mentioned.

3. *On the Indian folk-belief about the foundation sacrifice.*—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

Foundation sacrifice is the custom of burying or otherwise sacrificing human victims on the occasion of the foundation of important buildings, bridges or cities. This custom dates from remote antiquity and was prevalent in ancient Palestine and in the middle ages in Germany, Roumania and Trans-sylvania and also till recent times in Siam and Burma. In India the belief in the existence of this custom is still prevalent among illiterate classes and scares have arisen at the time of constructing the Hooghly bridge at Calcutta, the Dufferin Railway Bridge at Naihati and also of the new Dock-yard at Khidderpore in 1924

4. *A Note on the Incorruptibility of some Dead Bodies supposed to be saintly.*—By J. J. MODI.

Plato has referred to cases of unconsumed bodies and he attributes their incorruptibility to the following causes :—

- (1) The quality of air.
- (2) Soil impregnated with salt.
- (3) The dried up substance of the body.
- (4) The particular kind of life, passed by the deceased.
- (5) The particular kind of death of which he died.

Out of these five, the last two are illustrated from Persian history and writings. According to Mr. Saintyves, Ammianus Marcellinus refers to an illustration from the history of Shapur, who had lost 30,000 people in the battle with the Romans at Amida. The bodies of the Roman soldiers killed in the battle were consumed within four days after death, but those of the Persian soldiers remained fresh for a long time. This was due to their habits of life, to their dry constitution due to the burning hot air of their country and to their temperate habits of life.

Herodotus (Bk. III, 12) gives another instance. The Persians had fought and won a battle with the Egyptians at the Pelusiæ mouth of the river Nile. Long after the burial of the Persian dead, their skulls were found to be more susceptible to breakage than those of the Egyptians, because they (the Persians) always covered their heads. The general practice of the Parsis up to now is to move about with covered heads. Again, the Persians always carried long hair which made their skulls less susceptible to breakage.

According to Plutarch, those who died of a lightning flash had their flesh unconsumed for a long time. The Avesta of the Parsis (*Vendidad*, Ch. VII 4-5) says, that in cases of accidental or immediate deaths, the putrifaction does not begin at once, but takes a long time.

5. *On the Custom of Life-giving Charity in Orissa.*—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

The custom of Life-giving charity is the practice according to which piously-disposed persons or sick-men set free captive birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles either for the purpose of acquiring merit thereby or with the object of obtaining recovery from illness and thereby prolonging life.

It is prevalent in Bengal, Bihar and Malabar and in Tibet, China and Japan where Buddhism was and is still the prevalent form of religion.

In this paper the author described a few cases from Orissa.

6. *Insect Pests and some South Indian Beliefs.*—By S. T. MOSES.

Insect pests are frequently mentioned in Tamil and Telugu literature, nursery rhymes, proverbs and sayings. The popular belief of their origin is that they are due to divine wrath. Time-honoured methods of combating the pests still in vogue are the chanting of Mantras, use of inscribed leaves, ashes, charred sticks from festival bonfires, half-burnt bamboos, salt, curious spraying mixtures 'Chazhi Kol', 'Chazhi Vala' of Malabar.

7. *Note on a Sacred Tree at Puri in Orissa.*—By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

There are many sacred trees in India usually connected with saints and fakirs. It is a Bakul tree and is popularly believed to have grown up from the teeth-cleansing tree-twigg of the great Vaishnava

reformer Chaitanya Deva. A legend is also given regarding it.

8. *A few types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Central Provinces.*—By HEM CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

In this paper an account is given of a few types of sedentary games prevalent in the Jubbulpore District. The games are 5 in number and are known as *Atharagutiala*, *teora*, *dash-guti*, *gol-ekuish*, *Kaooa* and *sat-gol*.

9. *Notes on a type of Sedentary Game known as Gottuguni.*—By V. N. RAU.

The paper describes a sedentary game named Gottuguni as played in Mysore, always by two persons—generally girls.

10. *Agharni-Simantonnayana—The First Pregnancy.*—By S. S. METHA.

In all countries and at all times among semi-civilised and highly civilised nations special importance is attached to the first pregnancy. In this paper the history of certain ceremonies in connection with first pregnancy is traced from the writings of Manu, Asvalayana, Sankhayana, Gobhila, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti and other Sanskrit authors. A description is then given of the same custom as prevalent in Gujerat in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries A. D. In modern times the custom is still prevalent (in more or less modified form) among many Hindu castes and also among the Parsis.

11. *A Note on the custom of the Interchange of Dress between Males and Females.*—By J. J. MODI.

The subject of the paper is suggested by an interesting article by Mr. Kleiweg de Zuaan, entitled "L'Echange de Vetements entre Hommes et Femmes," that appeared in the *Revue Anthropologique*, Mars-Avril 1924.

A custom exists among different peoples of the world, wherein, at times, males put on the dress of females and females that of males. What is the origin of the custom? Why do people do so? The reply cannot be the same for all cases. Different peoples practise this custom with different views under different circumstances. The object of this Note is to examine some views about the custom.

(a) *Exchange of Dress at Initiation.*—Among some tribes, initiation into the fold of the tribe is accompanied by circumcision. At the time of this ceremony, the boys have their hair cut, and are purified and then adorned by girls with feminine dress and ornament. The same is the case with girls, who, among some tribes, are circumscribed at the first period of menstruation which is taken as the time of puberty. Then, they are made to put on the dress of males. The reason or the origin of the custom is said to be "to do something otherwise than usual with a view to turn the course of events by counter-magic" on some extraordinary occasions. Dr. Modi's view of the case is, that here, the prime idea is that of self-sacrifice. The male or the female offers in circumcision a part, however small, of the genital or conceiving organ, which is their valuable possession.

To a man, his manhood is sacred, and to a woman her womanhood. Both, on this important occasion of their life, viz., that of circumcision, offer as a sacrifice, what is most valuable to them, their manhood or womanhood.

(b) *Exchange of Dress in Illness.*—Among some people in Java, when a child falls ill, they change its dress as well as its name. Here the reason seems to be that of deception. The illness may have been caused by an evil-minded hostile person through a part of the person's dress. Magic is worked upon a man through his clothes. So, the change of dress means, the removal or rejection as it were, of the disease. The object seems to be to throw the sorcerer or the evil-minded man, altogether out of scent.

(c) *Exchange of Dress in Accouchement.*—Among some tribes, a woman at the time of, or after, delivery puts on the dress of a male. The reason seems to be the desire to have some masculine strength to pass through the difficult time.

(d) *Exchange of Dress of New-born Children.*—It is said, that in some parts of Scotland, a newly born male child is dressed like a female, and the female child like a male. It is believed that thereby they express a desire for the children not remaining celibate. Here also, the case may be that of a kind of deception, a case of deceiving the evil power.

(e) *Exchange of Dress on Marriage occasions.*—Among some people in India, the father of the bridegroom puts on for the wedding the dress of a woman over his own dress. The object seems to have been

a kind of vicarious deception. Evil or magic is practised through clothes. To avoid the result, the bride and the bride-groom should change at the time of marriage their dress to practise deception upon a practising magician. But here, it is the father who does that. It is a kind of vicarious deception.

(f) *Exchange of Dress at the time of Prayers.*—Among some tribes, the males never reject the desires of their wives. They always respect their wishes. So, they think, that the Higher Powers also are prompt in fulfilling the desires of the womankind. Similarly the males put on women's dress at prayers to have their prayers accepted at once.

12. *Kinship and caste in the Heroic Ages.*—By N. K. SIDHANTA.

This paper traces the parallelisms in the social organisation specially in matters of kinship and caste in the heroic poetry of different parts of Europe and India. A comparative account is given of kinship and caste organisations in the Iliad, the Odyssey, Beowulf and Nibelungenlied, the Cucchullin cycle, the Volsunga Saga, etc., and in the Mahābhārata and the Sanskrit Purāṇas.

13. *Prehistoric Geology or Prehistory of the Chingleput and North Arcot District.*—By V. S. SWAMINATHAN.

1. A harmonious co-operation of the various branches of Solences especially Geology, Zoology, and Archæology are necessary for arriving at a

satisfactory solution of the problem of the antiquity of man.

2. The stratigraphical position of the beds in which the artefacts, or potteries, or burials occur is to be known correctly before the approximate antiquity of the cultures or burials can be deduced.

3. The age of the "Laterites" in which most of the Palæolithic, Neolithic, and Pigmy implements, besides Pottery and Burials are found, is discussed at great length in the light of recent observations by Geologists.

4. The chief centres of Prehistoric interest in the two Districts are mentioned where—

- (A) Palæolithic implements are found *in situ*,
- (B) Neolithic implements " "
- (C) Pigmy crude, and polished,
- (D) Potteries—crude, and polished and
- (E) the Prehistoric burials.

5. In conclusion a definite sequence of the various cultures is established tentatively.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Ancient Hunters and Their Modern Representatives.—By *Prof. W. J. Sollas, M. A., Sc. D., D. Sc., F. R. S.* (Third Edition, 1924. Macmillan & Co.) PP. XVI+697. Price 25 s. net.

Anthropologists and archæologists all over the world will, we are sure, eagerly welcome the present revised edition of a standard work, considerably enlarged and suitably modified by the addition of the results of up-to-date researches on the subject of pre-historic man. We are rejoiced to find that the author's cautious scientific mind which long refused to accept eoliths as genuine 'artefacts' has now been convinced by fresh evidence and further study that "the balance of probabilities distinctly points to the conclusion that these eoliths (of Puy de Boudieu) are the work of an intelligent being", (p. 98). Prof. Sollas is obviously not prepared to attribute them to 'man'; for, says he, of the existence of man antecedent to the great Ice Age, "not a vestige of evidence has so far been discovered". The term 'man', according to him, can be correctly applied only to *Homo sapiens*. Although for want of a suitable name he would suffer *Homo Neandertalensis* to be designated 'Neandertal man' and included in the genus *Homo*, by courtesy, he would on no account admit into the same genus such antecedent forms as *Eoanthropus* and *Palæanthropus* (*Homo Heidelbergensis*). (pp. 43-44). Some of Prof. Sollas' views will undoubtedly come to be

modified in the light of further evidence, but there is little chance of the book being displaced from the eminent rank that it has so long occupied in the literature on the subject. Here and there perhaps an observation or statement may be picked up which is not in consonance with the trend of the generally-accepted views on the matter. But the author has reasons in support of his view. We can, however, find no authority or, if we may be allowed to say so, justification for the statement at p. 256 that "long-headed people of existing races pass through a brachycephalic stage in childhood". The writer of the present review lives in the midst of dolichocephals of Pre-Dra-vidian origin, and has been for years observing them at every stage of their lives but has not noticed any such remarkable change in the cephalic index with age. On the whole, however, the book remains a recognised classic in the literature on the subject; and in consideration of the high value and importance of the work, we confidently expect that a fresh edition will before long be called for.

Men of the Old Stone Age, Their Environment, Life and Art.—By *Henry Fairfield Osborn, Sc. D., L. L. D., D. Sc., Ph. D., Research Professor of Zoology, Columbia University.* (Third Edition. Tenth Printing. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York. 1923). PP. XXVIII+559, Price \$ 5.00.

This is another book which has taken its place among the classics of Prehistoric Archæology

and no serious student of pre-history can afford to remain unacquainted with it; and the beginner in the study of the subject should not omit to read, re-read and digest its contents. As the last edition of the work was written seven years ago (1918), and recent researches since then have thrown new light on certain questions, we are eagerly looking forward to a new edition of this standard work, which, we are sure, will not be long in coming.

Prehistory: A Study of Early Cultures in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin.—*By M. C. Burkitt, M. A., F. S. A., F. G. S. with a short Preface by L'Abbé H. Breuil, Professor at the Institute of Human Palæontology, Paris. (Second Edition. University Press, Cambridge, 1925). PP. XXVI+438. Price 35 s. net.*

This well-written and handsome volume, which was first published in 1921, has deservedly passed into a second edition. It furnishes the student with an excellent summary of pre-historic archæology and art. Some interesting points of physical anthropology are also touched upon. Chapter XIII has been recast, and this together with the Preface to the present edition and the notes appended to some of the chapters bring the book up to date. The book should form a most useful companion to the student of European pre-history.

The Origin and Evolution of Life.—By *Henry Fairfield Osborn, Sc. D., L. L. D., D. Sc., Ph. D.* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921) PP. XXXI+322.

This is a remarkable book which turns the attention of students of Biology away from the matter and form conceptions which have long held sway to a new and fascinating aspect of the subject,—namely, to an energy conception of Evolution and of Heredity. This aspect will particularly appeal to the Hindu mind. The object of the author is not indeed to present any settled conclusions as to the nature of Heredity and the causes of elaborate adaptations in the higher organisms, but merely to direct the student's imagination, experiment and observation "along lines whereby we may attain small but real advances into the unknown". "The evolution of life", says our author, "may be rewritten in terms of invisible energy, as it has long since been written in terms of visible form. All visible tissues, organs, and structures are seen to be the more or less simple or elaborate agents of the different modes of energy. One after another special groups of tissues and organs are created and co-ordinated—organs for the *capture* of energy from the inorganic environment and from the life environment, organs for the *storage* of energy, organs for the *transformation* of energy from the potential state into the states of motion and heat. Other agents of control are evolved to bring about a harmonious

balance between the various organs and tissues in which energy is *released*, hastened or *accelerated*, slowed down or *retarded*, or actually arrested or inhibited. In the simplest organisms energy may be captured while the organism as a whole is in a state of rest; but at an early stage of life special organs of locomotion are evolved by which energy is sought out, and organs of prehension by which it may be seized. Along with these motor organs are developed organs of *offense* and *defence* of many kinds, by means of which stored energy is protected from capture or invasion by other organisms. Finally, there is the most mysterious and comprehensive process of all, by which all these manifold modes of energy are *reproduced* in another organism." (pp. 17-18). "The chromatin as the potential energy of form and function ... records the body form of past adaptations, it meets the emergencies of the present through the adaptability to new conditions which it imparts to the organism in its distribution throughout every living cell; it is continuously giving rise to new characters and functions. Taking the whole history of vertebrate life from the beginning, we observe that every prolonged, old adaptive phase in a similar habitat becomes impressed in the hereditary characters of the chromatin. Throughout the development of new adaptive phases the chromatin always retains more or less potentiality of repeating the embryonic, immature, and more rarely some of the mature structures of older adaptive phases in the older environments". (pp. 157-2)

The book is divided into two parts:— Part I, dealing with the Adaptation of Energy, comprises three chapters, headed respectively—‘Preparation of the Earth for Life’, ‘The Sun and the Physico-chemical origins of life’, and ‘Energy Evolution of Bacteria, Algæ and Plants’; and Part II, dealing with the Evolution of Animal Form, comprises five chapters, headed respectively,—‘The Origins of Animal Life and Evolution of the Invertebrates’, ‘Visible and Invisible Evolution of the Vertebrates’, ‘Evolution of Body Form in the Fishes and Amphibians’, ‘Form Evolution of the Reptiles and Birds’, and ‘Evolution of the Mammals’. In these successive chapters the author shows how four complexes of energy are successively added and combined, namely,—Inorganic Environment, Organism, Heredity-germ and Life Environment. The Inorganic Environment of the Sun, of the Earth, of the Water, and of the Atmosphere is exploited thoroughly in search of energy by the Organism: the organism itself becomes an organism only by utilizing the energy of the environment and by co-ordinating its own internal energies. Whether the Germ as the special centre of heredity and reproduction of energy is as ancient as the organism we do not know; but we do know that it becomes a distinct and highly complex centre of potential energy which directs the way to the entire energy complex of the newly developing organism. Finally, as organisms multiply and acquire various kinds of energy, the Life Environment (beginning from the monads

and algæ and ascending in a developing scale of plants and animals) arise as a new factor in the energy complex. Such, in brief, is the line of approach to the fundamental problems of biology which our author proposes and undertakes and he frankly admits in the Preface, "We are not ready for a clearly developed energy conception of the origin of life, still less of evolution and heredity; yet we believe our theory of the actions, reactions, and interactions of living energy will prove to be a step in the right direction".

This is a most stimulating and suggestive work which is bound to find a wide circle of readers in India.

Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego.—By *Sigmund Freud, M. D., L. L. D.* Translated by *James Strachey.* (*Boni and Liveright. New York*) P. 134. Price \$. 2-00.

Dr. Sigmund Freud's writings always command the respectful attention of a student of man, although the student may not see eye to eye with him on all points. The book under review is a remarkable contribution to the study of the relationship of the individual to the group; and we shall make no apology for presenting our readers with a brief summary of our author's exposition of his most interesting theory. It is Eros or Love that, according to Dr. Freud, holds together every thing in the world, and this is the power which holds a human group together: Love-relationships or emotional ties constitute the essence of the group-mind.

Psycho-analytic research has taught us that all that we mean by love (the libido * of Psycho-analysis)—not only sexual love but, on the one hand, self-love, and, on the other, love for parents and children, friendship and love for humanity in general, and also devotion to concrete objects and to abstract ideas, ‘are an expression of the same instinctive activities; in relations between the sexes these instincts force their way towards sexual union, but in other circumstances they are diverted from this aim or are prevented from reclaiming it, though always preserving enough of their original nature to keep their identity recognizable’.

Dr. Freud illustrates his theory by a discussion of the morphology of two highly organised artificial groups, namely, the Church and the army, and shows that they are dominated by two emotional (‘libidinal’) ties: ‘In these two artificial groups each individual is bound by libidinal ties on the one hand to the leader (Christ, the Commander-in-Chief) and on the other to the other members of the groups. The fact that each individual is bound in two directions by such an intense emotional tie, accounts for the individual’s lack of freedom in a group—the alteration and limitation in his personality’.

For a correct appreciation of his theory of the erotic origin of social groups, Dr. Freud gives the following account of the development of the erotic life of the individuals:—

* By the term ‘Libido’ is meant the energy (regarded as a quantitative magnitude, though not at present actually measurable) of those instincts which have to do with all that may be comprised under the term ‘love’.

"In his first phase, which has usually come to an end by the time he is five years old, a child has found the first object for his love in one or other of his parents, and all of his sexual instincts with their demand for satisfaction have been united upon this object. The repression which then sets in compels him to renounce the greater number of these infantile sexual aims, and leaves behind a profound modification in his relation to his parents. The child still remains tied to his parents, but by instincts which must be described as being inhibited in their aim. The emotions which he feels henceforward towards these objects of his love are characterized as 'tender'. The earlier 'sensual' tendencies remain more or less strongly preserved in the unconscious, so that in a certain sense the whole of the original current continues to exist.

At puberty,...there set in new and very strong tendencies with directly sexual aims. In unfavourable cases they remain separate, in the form of a sensual current, from the 'tender' emotional trends which persist. We are then faced by a picture the two aspects of which certain movements in literature take such delight in idealising..... More often, however, the adolescent succeeds in bringing about a certain degree of synthesis between the unsensual heavenly love and the sensual, earthly love, and his relation to his sexual object is characterised by the interaction of uninhibited instincts and of instincts inhibited in their aim. The depth to which anyone is in love, as contrasted with his purely sensual desire, may be measured by the size of the share taken by the inhibited instincts of tenderness.....

If the sensual tendencies are sometimes more effectively repressed or set aside, the illusion is produced that the object has come to be sensually loved on account of its spiritual merits, whereas on the contrary those merits may really only have been lent to it by its sensual charm.

The tendency which falsifies judgment in this respect is that of *idealisation*. But this makes it easier for us to find our way about. We see that the object is being treated in the same way as our own ego, so that when we are in love a considerable amount of narcissistic libido overflows on to the object. It is even obvious, in many forms of love choice, that the

object serves as a substitute for some unattained ego ideal of our own.....Contemperaneously with this 'devotion' of the ego to the object, which is no longer to be distinguished from sublimated devotion to an abstract idea, the functions allotted to the ego ideal entirely cease to operate. The criticism exercised by that faculty is silent; every thing that the object does and asks for is right and blameless. The whole situation can be completely summarised in a formula: "*The object has taken the place of the ego ideal*".

As a result of the discussion of the 'libidinal' development of the individual, our author gives the following formula for the libidinal constitution of the social groups considered in the book, namely those that have a leader and have not been able by means of too much 'organisation' to acquire secondarily the characteristics of an individual: *A primary group of this kind is a number of individuals who have substituted one and the same object for their ego ideal and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego*". Identification * is known to psycho-analysts as the earliest expression of the emotional tie with another person.

From the standpoint of this 'libido' theory, the herd instinct or 'gregareousness' of man is "a further manifestation of the inclination which proceeds from the libido, and which is felt by all living beings of the same kind, to combine in more and more comprehensive units. The individual feels 'incomplete' if he is alone. The dread which children feel when left alone is, according to our author, not already a manifestation of the gregarious instinct but "the expression of an unfulfilled desire which the child does not yet know how to deal with in any way except by turning it into dread", which cannot be pacified by the sight of any haphazard 'member of the herd'.

* It plays an early part in the Oedipus complex.

For a time nothing in the nature of herd instinct or group feeling is to be observed in children. Something like it grows up first of all, in a nursery containing many children, out of the children's relations to their parent, and it does so as a reaction to the initial envy with which the elder child receives the younger one. "In consequence of the impossibility of maintaining its hostile attitude without damaging itself, it is forced into identifying itself with the other children. So there grows up in the troop of children a communal or group feeling, which is then further developed at school, ... What appears later on in society in the shape of.....'group spirit' &c. does not belie its derivation from what was originally envy. No one must want to put himself forward, every one must be the same and have the same. This demand for equality is the root of social conscience and the sense of duty.....Thus social feeling is based upon the reversal of what was first a hostile feeling into a positively toned tie of the nature of an identification....This reversal appears to be effected under the influence of a common tender tie with a person outside the group.... Many equals, who can identify themselves with one another, and a single person superior to them all—that is the situation that we find realised in groups which are capable of subsisting". The essence of a group formation consists in a new kind of libidinal tie among the members which puts such limitations on self-love as do not operate outside such groups. Such, in brief, is Dr. Freud's

account of the psychological group, the secret of the decisive influence the group is capable of exercising over the mental life of the individual, and the nature of the mental change which it forces upon the individual. That change consists in a manifestation of the racial unconscious by throwing off individual inhibition, the repressions of individual unconscious instincts, the intensification of the emotions and the inhibition of the intellect. The weakness of intellectual ability, the lack of emotional restraint, the incapacity for moderation and delay, the inclination to exceed every limit in the expression of emotion and to work it off completely in the form of action—these and similar features present an unmistakable picture of a regression of mental activity to a primitive level which is an essential characteristic of common groups, whereas in organized and artificial groups it can to a large extent be checked. The views of Le Bon, McDougal and Trotter on the subject are discussed and criticised in the first part of the book, but space does not permit us to give our readers either a summary of the author's discussion of the views of other writers or a detailed exposition of the author's own view which is indeed one of fascinating interest. Though we are apt to look askance at any one-key explanation of the problem of human relations, we strongly recommend this thought-provoking book to all students interested in anthropology, sociology and group-psychology.

The Origin of Man.—By Carveth Read, M. A. (Second Edition; 1925). University Press, Cambridge. PP. XII+100. Price 5 s. net.

Man and His Superstitions.—By the same author. (Second Edition, 1925) University Press, Cambridge. PP. XVI+278. Price 12s. 6d. net.

We welcome these two highly suggestive volumes which originally appeared in 1920 in one volume under the title of *The Origin of Man and His Superstitions* and was reviewed in terms of commendation in this journal in its issue for December, 1921. The first two chapters of the original work have now been re-written and developed into nine chapters which constitute the first of the above-named volumes. These nine chapters are:— A Hypothesis concerning our Origin; Prey and Competitors of *Lycopithecus*; Physical Differentiation of the *Hominidæ*, Psychology of the Hunting Pack; Acquisitions in Culture and Custom; Moralization of the Hunters; Influence of the Imaginary Environment. The last seven chapters of the original work, now appear in a revised form as an independent volume entitled— *Man and His Superstitions* in eight chapters, headed as follow: Belief and Superstition; Magic; Animism; The Relations between Magic and Animism; Omens; The Mind of the Wizard; Totemism; Magic and Science.

The reason why the two parts of the original work have now been presented to the public in two separate and independent volumes is that many who are interested in Zoological

Man may feel little concern for his beliefs, whilst others to whom these beliefs are of engrossing study may care little about his physical evolution. The main purpose of the two volumes is to inquire into and indicate the probable cause of the difference between man and the apes. As the resemblances between the two are sufficiently explained by *heredity*, so are the specific differences explained, according to our author, by changing *environment* and habits adapted to such environment (beginning in the case of man with the habits of co-operative hunting adapted to an open or thinly-wooded habitat). The connection between the earlier and later chapters of the original work (as between the two volumes now under review) is that to understand the origin of man a biological explanation is not enough, but the beginnings of man's social life have to be inquired into as well. "The origin of Man as we know him", says Mr. Read, "living according to definite customs under some sort of Government, cannot be understood until we know not only how he came to exist in the animal world, but also what induced him to observe customs and to submit to the decisions of some men in each tribe as to what were the customs and what the penalties for breaking them. The explanation of this essential characteristic of mankind everywhere is that at first men were sociable because they lived by hunting as a pack, and as a pack they had their customs and leaders determined by personal superiority ; but that

when the time came (as it always did come) when hunting was no longer the chief means of livelihood, or when, by the acquisition of effective weapons, the pack was no longer necessary to good success in hunting, a group of men and women was kept together (when it *was* kept together) by belief in magical powers of some of their members (generally elders), giving them a reputation for wisdom and power much in excess of their merit, and enabling them to enforce the group's customs and direct its movements..... Magic was the sanction of their crude Government, supplemented sooner or later by Animism or belief in the influence of spirits, and the consequent growth of kingship and priesthoods. And these beliefs in Magic and Animism (here called superstition) not only made possible the beginning of Government (or its transfer from the pack-leader to the tribal elder) but ever since have had a potent share in maintaining and directing it." From the outline of the author's theory given above, it is obvious that all anthropologists cannot be expected to go the whole hog with the author in his main argument which may appear to some to attribute to Natural Selection a more predominant part in human evolution than it is now generally admitted by authoritative scientific opinion to have played. On the whole, however, the speculations put forward by the author are extremely interesting and thought-compelling

and the facts adduced by him in support of his views are judiciously selected from a wide field and applied with nice discrimination. We heartily recommend the book to our readers as a valuable contribution to scientific speculations on human evolution.

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament.— *By Sir James George Frazer, F. R. S., F. B. A., D. C. L., Litt. D., L. L. D., &c. Abridged Edition (Macmillan Company, New York, 1923).*

It would be superfluous to write an appreciation of Sir James Frazer's classical work on the *Folk-lore of the Old Testament*. But it may be necessary to draw the attention of educated Indians to the present abridged edition, the publication of which may not be known to many in this country. We must be extremely thankful to the eminent author for publishing this abridged edition which will enable many who have neither the means nor the leisure to read the original edition in three portly volumes. The eminently illuminating and successful attempt made by Sir James Frazer to trace some of the beliefs and institutions of ancient Israel backward to earlier and cruder stages of thought and practice which have their analogies in the faiths and customs of savages, may, it is fervently hoped, lead some enthusiastic and assiduous Indian ethnologist to deal with some of the Hindu traditional beliefs and institutions on the

same lines. In this way alone will it be possible to have a true and correct appreciation of our social history.

Leaves from the Golden Bough.—*Culled by Lady Frazer. With Drawings by H. M. Brock. (Macmillan & Co. London, 1924). pp. 249. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

Young folk and thier parents and teachers must be exceedingly grateful to Lady Frazer for the happy idea of culling suitable leaves from the *Golden Bough* and daintily weaving them into a fragrant garland for the enjoyment and benefit of the young in all climes where English is spoken or read. The execution of the idea has been as exquisite as the idea was happy. The attraction and, if we may say so, the value of the delicious volume before us is enhanced by a number of exquisite drawings by a capable artist. The classification of the selections into five parts under five appropriate headings adds further to the value of the volume. A more suitable book for presentation to young folk could not be selected by their friends and relatives and a better book to read in their leisure hours could not be selected for their pupils by teachers of the young. We expect the book will be as much in demand among young folk in English-speaking countries as among young folk in English Schools in India and other Oriental countries.

The Religion of the Manichees.— *By F. C. Burkitt, D. D.*— (*University Press, Cambridge; 1925*) pp. 130. Price 6s. net.

The three lectures which constitute this book were delivered by the author in Trinity College, as the Donnellian Lectures for 1924. The main object of the Lectures, as our author explains, "is to bring the wonderful discoveries of original Manichee Literature from Central Asia before a wider public than at present seem to know of them, and at the same time to suggest that the Christian element in the Religion of the Manichees is larger and more fundamental than the scholars of the last generation were inclined to allow." In Lecture I, Dr. Burkitt gives us the 'History of the Manichees', the 'Sources of our knowledge' about it, and the 'Manichean Account of the Past'. In Lecture II, he tells of 'Jesus in Mani's system', 'Manichean Church Organization', 'The *Khuastuanift*' (confession), and 'Manichean Ideas about the Future'. And in Lecture III, the author treats of the 'Sources of Mani's System', 'Bardaisan', 'Marcion', 'Evidence of the documents from Turkestan', 'Worship', 'Syriac and Greek in Manichee terminology', 'Barlaam and Joshaph', 'The World—a smudge', 'Augustine and the Origin of Evil'. Three appendices headed respectively 'The Manichæan Hierarchy', 'The Five Pure Elements', 'Manichee Fragments in Syriac', and 'The Soghodian Nestorian Lectunary', and an Index complete the volume.

Students of comparative religion will be grateful to Dr. Burkitt for bringing together in these

Lectures materials for a correct appreciation of the teachings of Mani about the Past, and about the Present, and the Future, as to the eternal opposition of Light and Dark, as to how the Primal Man (Khornensth) was clothed with the five Bright Elements, how the Dark invaded the Realms of Light, and how thereby our mingled world came into being, and how true knowledge and doctrine have from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God, by Buddha to India, by Zaradusht to Persia, by Jesus to the West, and finally by Mani, "messenger of the God of truth" to Babylonia, and how finally Light will be compleatly separated from Dark. Obviously Manichæism is a synthesis made of diverse materials, and our author concludes with a discussion of Mani's debts to various sources—Christian and non-Christian, particularly the former. A few illustrations given in the book give the reader an idea of Manichæan drawings. The book will form a welcome addition to the library of the student of religious history.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for July, 1924, Dr. J. H. Hutton contributes a note on. *The Occurrence of the Blow-gun in Assam*. He is inclined to regard the Thado-Kuki blow-gun which consists of a simple bamboo cut off a little closer to the upper node than it is to the lower node for the breech, in order to give it a "choke" bore to be the more original form which was developed by the Sakai and other Malay Peninsula tribes who availed themselves of the long internodes of *bambusa longinodes* forming a composite tube.

In *Man* for October, 1924, Mr. F. W. H. Migeod, in a letter suggests that in view of the very ancient working of iron in India mentioned by Dr. E. H. Hunt in the Journal on Hyderabad Cairn Burials, the legend mentioned by Flavius Philostratus that the Ethiopians originally dwelt in India and crossed over to Africa as a result of war, would seem to support the supposition that the knowledge of iron-working came down the Nile into Egypt from the Sudan.

In *Man* for January, 1925, Mr. H. J. Rose points out with reference to the last mentioned note in *Man* for October, 1924, regarding an early connection between Egypt and India, that Philostratus' *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* "to which Mr. Migeod refers as the source of his theory, is but an wild romance containing a very small portion of fact to a great deal of uncontrolled fancy," and, as such, quite unreliable.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for July—December, 1924, Mr. James Hornell contributes an article on *South Indian Blow-guns, Boomerangs and Crossbows*. This comprehensive account of the varieties of blow-guns, boomerangs and cross-bows met with in South India is profusely illustrated.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. V. } SEPT. & DEC., 1925. { Nos. 3. & 4.

I. NOTES ON THE MARRIAGE OF COUSINS IN INDIA.

By COL. T. C. HODSON, I. C. S. (*Retd.*)

In 1921 I surmised that the break-up of the dual system among the Khasias may have been "due to contact with a society on a multiple basis" ¹ I think I am now able to indicate, if not the exact identity but the general nature of the contact which produced these social modifications. Gurdon notes the important differences between Khasi and War custom and it is by examination of these differences that we derive our knowledge of the past. Thus "in the War country such marriages (with the daughter of the father's sister) are totally prohibited" ² Again, "In the War country... considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *Sengs*. A *Seng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *sengs* I may describe the community known as the *lai seng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of *Laitkyn sew*, the area owned being known as the 'ri lai seng' or land of the three clans.

These clans are descended from three men, U Kynta, U Nabein and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females.... There are other *seng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e. g. the *Hinriew Phew seng* or sixty *sengs*, "It is to be noted that the *seng* is an integral element in the social structure of the Khasia community for the house of the youngest daughter is called *ka iing seng*.³ to which the bones and ashes of the dead are brought.⁴ From these facts I deduce the conclusion that on the margin of the Khasi or matrilineal area we have a social organisation which is or was patrilineal, composed of three or of multiples of three clans, forbade marriage with the daughter of the father's sister as well as marriages with the daughter of the mother's sister and the father's brother while allowing marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother.

It is interesting to note that another community, marginal to a matrilineal community, the Garos, possesses a triple grouping for it is only among the Akawés and Awés that we find the Monin phratry as well as Marak and Sangma phratries,⁵ and these people inhabit the whole of the northern hills and the plains at their feet.⁶ This triple phratry system is found among the Lhota Nagas⁷ where a man may not marry his mother's sister's daughter, or his father's sister's daughter but may marry his mother's brother's daughter.⁸

He may not marry his father's brother's daughter as she belongs to his phratry and clan. In South India, in Mysore, "The Kadu Golla caste is made up of the three primary exogamous septs known as *Chitta Muttur* also styled *Karadi Gollaru* (Bear Tribe), *Chandinoru* (Moon Tribe) and *Rama Gaudana-kuladavaru* (Rama Gaude's descendants) Each of these is subdivided into subdivisions but all those belonging to one primary division are prohibited from marrying within that division. A man can marry the daughters of his maternal uncle or of his elder sister but cannot marry either his mother's sister or her daughter." ⁹ He cannot of course marry the daughter of his father's brother and it seems certain that he may not marry the daughter of his father's sister.

It is now well known that we have cases of symmetrical organisation among the Kachins, the Tarau, Chawte and that among the Kachins "it seems to be a general rule that a man should marry a first cousin on the female side, i. e. a daughter of a mother's brother. He may not however marry his father's sister's child who is regarded as a closely related blood connection, being perfectly traced through the female". ¹⁰ In theory therefore the pedigrees among the Kachins should follow the lines below in which in order to show the working of a system in a community which at any given time will certainly consist of at least three generations, several generations are shown.

MARPP = A, MARAN = B, N'KHUM = C, LEPAI = D, LAHTAWNG = B.

Capitals = males; and, lower case = females.

A1 + b1,	a1 + E1,	B1 + c1,	b1 + A1,	C1 + d1,	c1 + B1,	D1 + e1,	d1 + C1,	E1 + a1,	e1 + D1.
A2 + B2	a2 + E2	B2 + c2	b2 + A2.	C2 + d2	c2 + B2	D2 + e2	d2 + C2	E2 + a2	e2 + D2.
A3 + b3	a3 + E3	B3 + c3	b3 + A3	C3 + d3	c3 + B3	D3 + e3	d3 + C3	E3 + a3,	e3 + D3.
A4 + b4	a4 + E4	B4 + c4	b4 + A4	C4 + d4	c4 + B4	D4 + e4	d4 + C4	E4 + a4	e4 + D4.

A man has four cousins, to whom the term 'first-cousin' is applied. They are (1) the daughter of his father's brother, (2) the daughter of his father's sister, (3) the daughter of his mother's sister and (4) the daughter of his mother's brother.

A woman has four first cousins, the son of (1) her father's brother, (2) her mother's brother, (3) her mother's sister and (4) her father's sister.

By the rules governing Kachin social structure a man can only marry cousin no 4 and a woman can marry only cousin no. 4.

In these communities the terms father, mother, father's brother, mother's brother, are used in the classificatory sense and are applied to men and women of equal genealogical status who are therefore socially equivalent although, as a result of the process, in all societies which reckon genealogically of preference to individual relations which are traceable by the genealogical method, a blood or traceable relative is preferred to a less definite relative.

Since rules of this nature express and are the direct concomitant of social structure, it is legitimate to assert that wherever these rules are found to exist, they will subtend a social symmetry analogous to that so perfectly illustrated by the Kachin case.

There are many cases, however, where, for reasons which can be ascertained only by a lengthy and minute examination of the history of the group, absolute insistence on marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother does not now exist, if it ever did exist, in which there is a preference, based on economic as well as on social grounds, for

such marriages. There are cases where such marriages are permitted while marriages with other three types of first cousin are strictly forbidden. It is quite possible, that, given suitable conditions, social, political and environmental, in such cases permission and preference might ripen into absolute prescription as it is possible that they may represent the decay of such rigidity. Whether then as vestigial evidence or as potential forms of cousin marriage of this interesting mode and therefore of a social symmetry of great interest, they possess a great interest, both *per se* and for their wide distribution. The list which follows is based on the recent work in Bombay as well as on earlier authorities. In group A are those which allow marriage with the daughter of the father's sister and with the daughter of the mother's brother. In group B are those which distinguish scrupulously between these two cross-cousins and forbid marriage with the daughter of the Father's Sister but permit, prefer or even prescribe marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother.

Group A. Bombay.

Agasas : Babrias : Bagdis : Dhangars : Dhors :
 Gabits : Gavadas : Ghadis : Ghadshis : Ghisadis :
 Gudigars : Hallens : Habvakki Vakkals : Hanbars :
 Haslars : Hatis : Helavs : Joharis : Kabbaligars :
 Kaikadis : Kathis : Khants : Komarpaik (if no other
 suitable match can be found), Kudavakkals : Maratha :
 Kunbis : Kurubas : Lohars (with whom the first
 Claimant to a girls' hand is her father's sister's
 son and when a man marries his father's sister's

daughter, a silver chain is put round her neck by her mother as she has to go back to the family from which her mother came) Malis (some) Komar Pakis : Ods : Parsis : Raddis : Ramoshis : Shimpis (some).

Sudirs : Suppaligs : Telis (in Satara only).
Tigalas : Uppars : Hindu Vaghers : Kudale Vanis :
Vitolanas : ¹¹

Central Provinces.

Bhunjas : Gonds : Halwais : Kamars : Rautias :
Sonjharas : Velamas. ¹²

Group B. Bombay,

Bhils : Deshasth Brahmans : Chambhars :
Charans : Chitra Kathis : Darjis : Gavlis : Gopals :
Guravs : Halepaiks (matrilineel) Malis (some)
Harakantras : Holayas : Juigars : Khavas : Kolis :
Kumbhars : Lads : Lohars (some) : Lonaris : Mahars :
Mahias : Maugs : Marathas : Mogers : Vrilaris :
Otaris : Panch Kalsi (may also marry his mother's
sister's daughter) Pendharis : , Pinjaris : Rabaris :
Khandesh Ravals : Shimpis (some) : Sonars :
Takariss : Tambolis (may marry the daughter of a
younger brother of his mother). Tarus : Telis :
Thakars (some) : Thakurs : Sangameshvari Vanis :
(¹¹)

Central Provinces.

Agharias (some). Andhs : Bahnas : Bhamtis :
Bhatras : Muhammedan Bhils : Golars : Gonds
(by preference) : Guraos : Gowaris : Halbas :
Kaikaris : Kharias : Khonds : Kohlis : Kumbis :
Maratha Brahmans (cf. Ato ghari bhāsi sun) :
Chandnahe Kurmis : Mahars : Mānas : Mannewars

(if a girl is deformed or has some other defect which prevents her from being sought in marriage, she is given away with her sister to a first cousin, generally the paternal aunt's son or some other near relative, the two sisters being married to him together). Marathas : Parjas it is essential for a man to be properly married at least once and an old bachelor will sometimes go through the form of being wedded to his maternal uncle's daughter, even though she may be an infant). Sonars (some) : ¹²

In Southern India—the classic home of cousin-marriage—large and socially important groups such as the Kurubas and Komatis ¹³ prefer and prescribe marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother. With the Nayadis, while two cousins are allowed, the more popular marriage is with the daughter of an elder sister. The Gollas hold that "the division or sept in which his own mother was born is preferred to other *Kulas* for marriage". With the Todas "the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man. The orthodox marriage is marriage between *matchuni* or the children of brother and sister". ¹⁴

In Northern India—partly because the social history of the North is vastly different from that of the South, there are—as yet fewer instances. In the North Western Provinces (now the United Provinces) the Cheros have a rule that a paternal uncle's son can marry a maternal uncle's daughter, but not *vice versa*, ¹⁵ The Baigas allow a man.

to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. ¹⁶ The Gidhiyas permit marriage only with the mother's brother's daughter. ¹⁷ The Karans and Kaurs permit this marriage. ¹⁸ As Sarat Chandra Roy has shown for the Birhors, "the only restriction to cross-cousin marriage—marriage between the children of a brother and sister—is that the community does not look with favour upon such marriages during the life-time of either the brother or the sister". ¹⁹ There is possibly some analogy between this and the Khasia restrictions discussed earlier. ²⁰ Bhotias of Sikkim hold that "a man may marry his cousin on his mother's side, whether the daughter of his mother's brother or of his mother's sister. The reason given is that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's. Should cousins on the paternal side marry, it is said that the bone is pierced, resulting in course of time in various infirmities". ²¹

In all these cases care has to be taken to collate as many of the facts as possible and to consider the sum total of the rules in vogue in due groups, to correlate structure with marriage rules, to allow for economic pressure for the special difficulties due to social, geographical, linguistic and political seclusion, to remember that in communities which hold that marriage is a duty binding on all,—rules and conditions have come to be so adjusted as to make marriage possible for all. There are always at work in social groups where

distinct differences of custom, origin, speech and habitation are made the basis of social concentration, two forces,—one individualistic, the other socializing; so that at any given moment in any specific case the actual record may exhibit only a compromise between these two sets of conflicting forces.

In a number of the cases cited above the preference for the *kula* of a man's mother could express exactly the attitude of Kachin, a Lhota Naga or a Taran, while if emphasis be laid on the individual relationship it is the choice, the absolute duty in some cases, to the hand of the maternal uncle's daughter that is the feature impressed most vividly in the report. The attitude and the interests of the reporter and of his informants explain the variety of phrase with which these conditions have been observed and described. One of the effects of isolation, whether it be due to social or to physical or to linguistic causes, may well be the stereotyping and fixation of social structure by means of rules such as the preference, on general social and economic grounds, for the marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter.

It is necessary to remark that in cross-cousin marriages in a vigorous dual society there is no real distinction between the daughter of a mother's brother and the daughter of a father's sister, because the mother's brother in such societies is the husband of the father's sister.²² From these cases where the two are identical, we come to cases where they are equivalent and then to

cases where they are distinct. It need not be assumed that these phases are genetically related or essential. It is possible that structural conditions may produce effects to all outward seeming identical with those undeniably due to economic and special social conditions. To distinguish them fairly, regard has to be had to other criteria, specially the general social history, and relations of the group.

We have therefore to consider societies in which conditions exist such that it is not only possible but socially important that definite distinctions exist and are drawn between the two cousins. Then we have to consider how and why such distinctions come into existence and then receive such importance. So long as the two cousins are socially and maritally equivalent as with the inter-groups in Class A, the distinction is rather between two sets of cousins—those who may be and those who may not be married. In the groups in Class B we have only one marriageable cousin—the maternal uncle's daughter. An interesting feature about the single cousin marriage system is that it is capable of almost indefinite expansion according to this formula:— $(A+b) (B+c) (C+d).....[(R-2n)+(r-n)] [(R-n)+r] (R+a)$.

By this scheme a man's son may not marry the daughter of his father's sister. It therefore requires as a minimum basis three exogamous divisions. ²³ Any given man is the husband of a woman from the exogamous division to which his mother belonged. Any given married woman

is the wife of a man whose mother belonged to the exogamous division of her father. It is interesting to note that this scheme exists among the the Gilyak in Siberia. ²⁴ It is quite possible that it exists elsewhere but it is a distinct mode of social structure and must be distinguished from those cases of symmetrical structure which depend on or are derived from a dual structure,—such as the Australian groups, and the Garos and Gonds in India.

This scheme ignores all ties through female kin. The daughter of the maternal uncle belongs to her father's exogamous division and is therefore eligible as a spouse to a man of the exogamous division to which her father's sister went—to her father's sister's son. It may be that the explanation lies in the complete merger of the woman in her husband's exogamous division by and on marriage. Kinship may be traced *per capita* or *per stripes* only and by both computations.

It seems that a classification of Indian social groups from the structural aspect should have two main divisions,—(A) those that do not allow any form of first cousin marriage, (B) those that allow marriages with one or more of the first cousins. As an exercise in the study of distribution and in map-making this may be recommended. Each class will have to be further broken up and very interesting and scientifically important results await the industry of the Indian scholar who will take up this task.

References.

- (1) *Man in India*. I, no. 2., p. 38.
 - (2) *The Khasis*. p. 78,
 - (3) *ibid* p. 88.
 - (4) *ibid* p. 141.
 - (5) *The Garos* p. 64.
 - (6) *ibid* p. 39.
 - (7) *Lhota Nagas* p. 67 eq.
 - (8) *ibid* p. 85.
 - (9) *Mysore Bulletin*. XIV. p. 305.
 - (10) *Sketch of Kachin Grammar*. p. 139.
 - (11) *Bombay Tribes and Castes*. S. V.
 - (12) *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*. S. V.
 - (13) *Mysore Survey Bulletins*.
 - (14) *The Todas*. p. 512.
 - (15) *Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces*
II p. 217.
 - (16) *ibid*. III. p. 2.
 - (17) *Census of India, 1911*, vol. XV p. 215.
 - (18) *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. I. p. 425. p. 436.
 - (19) *The Birhors*. p. 125.
 - (20) *The Khasis*. p. 77. see no. 1 above.
 - (21) *Census of India 1911*. vol. 5 p. 326.
 - (22) *Kinship and Social organization*. p. 21.
 - (23) *Journal of American Folklore*. XXIII.
no. LXXXVIII.
 - (24) *Aboriginal Siberia* p. 99.
-

II. THE BIRTH CEREMONIES OF THE HOS OF KOLHAN.

(*Preliminary Review*).

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

The number of regular marriages amongst the Hos is very limited and it is decreasing day by day. An average Ho will not marry before he is thirty or more and there are cases in which the actual marriage ceremony never takes place. This is due to the bride-price or the rate of 'gonong' as they call it, which is exceptionally high for people of their means. Thirty heads of cattle, forty to sixty silver coins and ornaments covering another forty rupees must be given to the bride's father, before one can aspire to the hand of his daughter. Over and above these preliminary expenses there is the expense of feeding the members of two or more villages with *hāndiā* or rice-beer, rice etc. Now thirty heads of cattle by a modest calculation cannot cost less than a thousand rupees and this the poor cultivator cannot pay and the result is the continual decrease in the number of regular marriages and increase in irregular connections. Men and women live together as husband and wife without the ado of a ceremony, the society winking at it, it is only when any child is born that the society takes cognizance of the fact and in that case the man has to answer to the village *punch*. The father of the woman comes up and demands the bride price; an account is drawn up of the man's

possessions and the village *punch* orders the payment of a sum to the father-in-law, which never exceeds the means of the party concerned. The father of the child has also to arrange for a feast, in which the whole community takes part, thereby removing the ban of pollution. But in order to avoid these expenses, the Hos practise abortion, the ingredients used being roots and leaves of particular trees known only to the women and these are so effective that the attempt is successful in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

In case of regular marriage, a Ho is particularly anxious for a child, specially a male child to look after him in his old age and after death to minister to the departed soul. Barren women are very much disliked by the Hos and they believe that those without children have secret connections with malignant spirits and are witches. Barrenness is also attributed to bad morals and to sins committed in previous births. Superstitious remedies, charms and amulets are resorted to avoid barrenness, the most important of which is a decoction of the root of the *kæd* creeper which women are given to drink, and if a woman conceives, the root of the creeper is tied round the waist of the woman to protect the child from the influences of malignant spirits.

Formerly the Hos did not recognise sexual intercourse as essential to childbirth, 'Singbonga' in their opinion bringing children into existence. "Singbonga' emetana" (God gives it); but the belief has been shaken and they now take sexual

intercourse as the only cause of conception. * The Hos of Tengra and Burapir, believe that the success of sexual intercourse between husband and wife indicates success in agriculture and if they find a good number of conceptions in the village, the agricultural forecast is predicted to be very prosperous. "The soul" Say the Hos, "never dies but hovers round the family burial ground and seizes the earliest opportunity of conception, thereby gracing the family in the role of the newborn child". When a newborn babe resembles in some form or other any of the deceased ancestors, it is believed by the Hos that the latter has been reincarnated. The idea of reincarnation is so strong that the Hos are found to show very little respect to the 'sasan diris', thinking that the ancestral soul has long been reincarnated and the 'sasan diri' is dispossessed. Of course the reincarnation is limited by the number of conceptions in the family. When a child resembles his grandfather, the Hos believe that the grandfather is born again in the form of the child. Unlike the Hindus, the Hos have very few taboos during pregnancy. Restrictions as to diet are unknown to the Ho women during pregnancy which she takes as a matter of course; the labour in childbirth is easy and is borne by the women uncomplainingly. The only taboo observed by her

* It is at best doubtful if the expression "Singbonga emetana" can be taken to imply ignorance of the physiological origin of conception. It rather appears to be a 'pious' expression characteristic of a comparatively advanced stage of primitive culture when the good things of life are gratefully attributed to Divine favour.—
Editor.

is to avoid all places which are regarded as haunts of evil spirits and to avoid the society of barren women and witches who may have some evil influence on the future child. Unlike the Hindus the Hos do not engage experienced women to watch the delivery. The husband and wife are secluded in one room and it is the duty of the former to help the latter in delivery. In case the husband happens to be away some old woman is called in to help. The husband and the future mother enter the lying-in room, which is very often the same room used by them as bedroom, in fact the only room in the hut. The average Ho has one hut, with a single room which serves as a bedroom and store—there is a *varenda* in front where the Hos take rest after the day's toil. The children are removed from the room and as soon as the couple enter the room, the doors and windows are shut against all other persons. The huts of the Hos seldom possess any window and are therefore free from cold blasts from outside. There in the room husband and wife sit together and wait for delivery. Delay in delivery is attributed to the mischief-making of '*Churin bongas*' or spirits of women dying in childbirth. It is believed that when these spirits get annoyed, they sit on the heads of children and the result is that the children die or suffer from rickets. They also sit on the breast of pregnant women thereby displacing the placenta. In case of delay in delivery the Hos call in the village Dewâ or the

medicine-man who sacrifices fowls and goats to the Bongas and it is generally believed that the delivery is thus smoothly accomplished. When the pain becomes acute, the woman sits with her two legs spread obliquely—which hastens the birth.

After the child is born, the mother picks it up and the father cuts the umbilical cord with the skin of the maize plant (*gāṅgā singi*) which has a sharp edge. The use of knife or razor is resented, as it may prove septic. The body of the newborn child is wiped with a rag and the after-birth is then cleared by the woman and buried in the family courtyard. The placenta and the umbilical cord are placed in a new earthen vessel and buried in a hole dug in the courtyard. Special care is always taken to see that these remains may not be devoured by an animal or removed by any malicious human being. Injuries to the remains mean injuries to the child and the mother, for whatever harms a part of a man, will hurt the man himself. The father then prepares hot water inside the room, with which the mother and the infant are then bathed. The father next begins to cook food for both.

The purification ceremony is held on the 21st day after childbirth in the villages in the interior of Kolhan, but the people in the neighbourhood of towns do it after 30 days. This is due perhaps to Hindu influence. In one particular village the author saw it performed on the 8th day.

For a month, the husband, the wife and the child are confined in the room, both being regarded

ceremonially unclean. Anybody touching them is regarded as polluted and he has to take a ceremonial bath, after which water sanctified with cowdung is sprinkled on him. In Tengra and Burapir, the pair is ceremonially cleaned on the 16th day of pollution. The '*Endāchatu*' ceremony is held on the 16th day and if anybody falls ill the ceremony is postponed till the 18th or the 20th day.

On the first day of child-birth the woman is given a pulse-juice, which they call "कुर्तिगुड" The couple is not allowed to eat fish because they believe that if they eat fish during pollution the child may suffer from worms or insects in the belly. Once in the morning and once before dusk the woman is allowed every day to come out of the hut. The man may go out but must return before dusk. When water is to be brought from the river, the man takes care not to bring water from the place whence other villagers bring theirs.

The name-giving takes place at the time of the '*Endāchatu*' ceremony. The *tata*'s (grandfather's) name is given to the first-born child, *kumang*'s (mother's brother's) to the next, then the maternal cousin's; in the case of a daughter the name of *Jiang* (Grandmother), then of the *hatom* (mother's brother's wife), then the *undi*'s (cousin's) applied to successive children. A huge stoneslab is placed near about the courtyard, where the woman takes her bath daily and the placenta and the umbilical cord are buried under the stoneslab in a new pot or in a cup made of *sāl* leaves.

The woman and the child are bathed after smearing

turmeric paste on the body. On the birth of a child, the mother manipulates the head and the septum of the nose. The mother, during the month of pollution, is enjoined not to take meat *etc.*, but '*hāṇḍia*' which is regarded as a stimulant is freely allowed.

Endāchātu Ceremony :—On the seventh day, the child's head is partly shaven and it is regarded as clean. It is allowed to be handled by the members of the family with caution, but as the child has to remain with the parents, who are unclean; the child is seldom touched by the other members before the purificatory ceremony. During the purification ceremony which comes off on the 21st or the 30th day, the earthen vessels and pitchers used in the confinement room are thrown away and the hut is washed clean. Cow-dung solution is applied to the walls of the hut. The child and the father shave their heads, the latter shaving his beard too. They then take a ceremonial bath with all their relations, when offerings of '*hāṇḍia*' are made to the '*gogoi*' bongas or departed ancestors. It is only after the ceremonial feast that the pair can be readmitted into society. So long as the child is not weaned, the couple has to obey certain injunctions, e. g., they are not allowed to go to places which the '*bongas*' are said to haunt; they are not allowed to touch polluted persons; the mother is not allowed to go to a tank alone fearing lest the river deity, '*Gāre bonga*' or '*Nāge bonga*' (water deity) might do some harm to the boy.

Name-giving Ceremony :—The Hos are believers in rebirth;—so if they find any similarity existing between some deceased relative and the infant, they at once come to the conclusion that the lately deceased relative has come again to grace the family. In such cases the name given to the child is the same as that which the deceased possessed. The name-giving ceremony takes place either on the 10th day or on the 22nd day after birth. If no such physical similarity is observed, they take to drawing lots. The male and female relatives sit round an earthen pot full of water and grains are poured into the water, one after another. While dropping each grain of husked rice into the water, a name is suggested by the relatives present, after which a second grain is thrown; if the second grain touches the first the name is selected; if not, the process is repeated, care being taken to remove the second grain. While the lot is being drawn some of the relatives take *sofas* (sticks) made during an eclipse in hand and begin striking against the lying-in room in the belief that thereby all fears will be scared away from the mind of the child,

Another way of ascertaining the name of the infant is by taking a number of grains in the palm of the hand. When one of them suggests a name, the relatives are asked to say whether the number of grains on the palm is odd or even; if it is even the name is accepted, if odd, the lottery is repeated.

A third way of naming a child is to take

four grains of *urid* in the palm of the hand and to rub them until they get softened. The father of the child has to suggest a name and one of the four grains is dropped in a pan of water placed before him. If the grain of *urid* floats on the water, the name is accepted; if it sinks, another name is suggested and a second grain is dropped, and thus the four grains are tried. Should all four seeds sink, the ceremony is postponed till the next month. In the latter case, sacrifices have to be made to the ancestral spirits to save the child from any harm.

Sometimes a Ho may desire to stand as the name-sake of a new-born child and in the event of his being chosen by the relatives, his name is tried by the above process and, if it is accepted, the man stands as the best friend of the child,—his fate is linked with the child for weal or woe.

III. SOME ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE HOS OF KOLHAN.

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

Unlike the Mündas who believe that an eclipse is caused when "the emissaries of Sing-bongā, surround the Sun or the Moon

Eclipses for the debts of the Mündas", * Sing-Ganui and the Hos regard an eclipse as the Chanda Ganui. result of a sexual intercourse between the Sungod or 'Sing-bongā' and the Moon or the 'Chandabongā' who are believed by the Hos to be husband and wife. During an eclipse the Hos take their bath in the village *bāndhs*, throw pieces of gold, silver, copper or iron, according as they can afford it, at the Sun or the Moon as the case may be, in the belief that the ornaments made with these pieces, when worn, must produce good luck. The Hos will also cut down branches of trees at the time of an eclipse to make sticks or 'soṭās', as they think that if they possess a soṭā made during an eclipse, they will not, when passing through forests at night, be harmed by malignant spirits, the soṭā having acquired the power of driving away spirits. Another belief is connected with fishing nets (Jalom). It is firmly believed by the Hos that nets made during an eclipse have the infallible power of drawing fishes into it when thrown into the water, the reason apparently being that as there is darkness during an eclipse there will be darkness in

* Vide S. C. Roy's "*Mündas and Their Country*" 489.

water at the time of drawing that net which will blind the eyes of the fish and they will not escape. Women with child are not allowed to see the eclipse, and should a woman happen to see it, it is predicted that her child will be a deformed one. During an eclipse a Ho woman is seen to throw cowdung against the walls of her hut as a safeguard against pollution.

The relation between the Kols and the Dikus or foreigners has always been unsatisfactory. The Dikus, who are mostly Hindus do not touch them for fear of Excommunication and Remedy. pollution, the very presence of these aborigines being regarded as abominable. In fact, the name 'Kol' or 'Kola' was applied to these people as a signal mark of hatred, Kolā, in Sanskrit, meaning a pig. The Hos also do not allow their own people to take anything at the hands of a Diku. When they are paid, they work for the Dikus, even as menials in their households, but they will not take water or boiled rice from their employers nor cleanse utensils. Taking rice at the hands of a Diku is regarded by them as betraying the tribe and the offender is at once excommunicated. In case the outcast wants to get back into the pale of his community, he has to undergo a purificatory ceremony known as 'Jāti'. The Mundas and Mankis of the neighbourhood and some members of his own sept or 'Kili', together with the village elders hold a Durbar, when the man has to pare his nails, cut his hair and then retire to the village *bāndh* or river to take a cere-

monial bath, washing his body with oil and turmeric paste. Next he comes to the place where the Durbar is held and then prepares himself for the sacrifice he has to offer. In a small pot, water dyed with turmeric, *tulsi* leaves, and mango leaves is put before the offender. A cock is then sacrificed to 'Sing-bongä' and 'wagoi bongas' and its blood poured into a pot. The men assembled then sprinkle the contents of the pot seven times over his head uttering each time the name of the spirits. The man next takes a few drops of the blood in a leaf-cup and mixing it with 'händia' or rice-beer drinks the contents in the presence of all assembled. When this is done the man has to prepare food for all the people present, a he-goat is killed and the feast is partaken of with great eclat. The nails are pared and hair cut by men of other 'kilis' different from the kili of the offender.

The nature of the ceremony testifies to the seriousness of the offence in the Ho's estimation. The pollution is mutual. The Diku and the 'Kol' avoid each other. The Diku with his higher culture looks down upon the Kols, the Hos regard themselves as equal, even superior, to the Dikus. Why is it that the Hos avoid the touch of the Diku? The answer is difficult. But I do not think this idea of false prestige can be traced to a very remote period in their history. This social avoidance might have been the outcome of a reaction.

Balposh or adoption:—The right of adoption by a Ho is very much disputed by Ho society. Before an adoption can be made, a Ho has to apply to the village 'Munda' and the Manki for permission which the latter seldom grant if any of the relations of the man puts up an objection. Women do not inherit the property of the family; they are allowed maintenance only. If there is only a girl then a Ho sometimes seeks a boy to marry her and the property devolves upon the bridegroom. This is known as 'Dubumbal' or '*gārjamai*'. In case there is no issue a Ho seeks a 'tuar' or an orphan for adoption. He then applies to the Munda and the Manki for permission to adopt the child as his son. Should the former agree no special ceremony is performed and the boy can be brought up as the natural heir. But if a male child is born to the man after the adoption has been made, the adopted son has no right to the property of the family. Sometimes a 'tuar' cannot be found and the family property is inherited by the man's brother's children. In granting permission to the man to adopt, the Munda and the Manki invite the decision of the *punch* of the village concerned and this decision is final.

Improvident as they are, the Hos seldom possess anything substantial save some measures of land; so ordinarily they have very little necessity for adoption. Formerly the Hos did not possess any idea of adoption; the land they cultivated was the property of the community and individual property seldom existed. The idea of 'Balposh' might have

been introduced into their society by people who lived in the neighbourhood of the Hindus and others, and thus imbibed, to some extent, the culture of the Dikus or foreigners. The word '*Balposh*' is not a '*Kol*' word, it is a colloquial Bengali or Hindi word used by the people of Manbhum and sister districts. So we may assume that the custom of adoption, if it exists at all, is the result of culture contact.

Diseases and causes thereof:—People in a low stage of culture seldom die a natural death, for outdoor life, hunting, and warfare afford any amount of accidents, and death is in their opinion due to these accidents. Hence it is natural that premature deaths should be attributed to the mischiefs of evil spirits or Bongas. There are good spirits too who look after the welfare of the people, with whom they maintain friendly relations by offering sacrifices and prayers at regular intervals. In case of sickness and death the people approach these good spirits for relief, but all the same, they are very much afraid of the malignant spirits whose work it is to inflict injuries to the people for pretty offences. To these spirits savages offer choice offerings and sacrifices to appease them. There are a host of these malignant spirits, e. g.

Churin Bongas—Spirits of persons dying in child-birth.

Kachin Bongas—Spirits of persons who meet with watery graves.

Hankar Bonga—Worshipped by the witches.

Nayom Bonga—Worshipped by those who practice in poison.

Nasom or *Mua Bonga*—The spirits haunting graveyards.

<i>Kariya Bonga</i>	}	God of the Kharias who are a Munda speaking tribe.
or		
<i>Tengu Bonga</i>		

Sacred groves or '*Jahirs*' are said to bring good luck to the village. In case of epidemics the villagers pour water in the groves and confidently expect that thereby the epidemic will decrease or pass away to other villages. The number of sacred groves indicate the health of the village for they serve to guard the villagers from diseases.

Now, when a man falls ill, one of the members of his family takes some rice (*arua*) in a Sal leaf and having touched the sick man's body with the leaf goes to the village Dewa to ascertain the cause of the disease. The Dewa takes the rice in the palm of his hand and takes the whole night to decide the course he would take next morning. In the morning he reveals the name of the spirit or '*Bonga*' causing the malady. The Bonga is then worshipped by the Dewa with offerings of Bodā or he-goat or a fowl, and it is believed that the disease is thereby got rid of. The '*Wagoi Bongas*', if they are not regularly propitiated, cause maladies. People having a power over the evil spirits often work mischief by causing diseases. When Cholera or Diarrhœa breaks out in an epidemic form, the villagers approach the Deuri, who goes to the Dewas for remedy. The Dewa there-upon calls the villagers to assemble in the courtyard of the Deuri and cites incantations, during which some of

the villagers get possessed and in this state of obsession they give out the name of the Bongā or Bongās, causing the disease. The villagers ask the possessed men, "Mar Tabu gosainko kajia tēpé chiābu haturé nèn dukhu chikate hobajānā—ondo neyā lagirte chikānābu rekaya".

English translation :—

Well, sages, tell us why we are suffering from this malady? What are we to do (to meet it)? The possessed men say,

"Chi abuā haturē nen dukhu euakānā;
enā lagite abu (Pauria Bonga) buhār obgi"

English translation,

"Hear ye villagers, this malady is caused by Pauria Bonga and we must drive its out of the village".

At night the villagers again assemble at the limits of the village and the same men with sticks in hand get possessed. The Dewa then gives a handful of 'ārua' rice to each of the other two villagers, (having duly sanctified them by *mantras* or incantations). These two men stand on two sides of the road, leading out of the village, when the possessed men run towards the road, the rest of the villagers following at their heels. The duty of the two villagers with 'ārua rice' in hand is to run parallel to the possessed men sprinkling the rice behind and on both sides of the latter thereby getting preventing them from back or turning aside from the path they have taken. Thus they run till they reach some big tree or hill.

There they stop and the Dewa propitiates the Bongā with a fowl at the foot of the tree or hillock saying, "We have brought you here; this is your abode; we wish you remain here". This is known as 'Bongā hanr' or driving away of spirits.

IV. SOME OUTDOOR AND SEDENTARY GAMES OF THE HOS OF KOLHAN.

(Preliminary review.)

BY D. N. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

The following are the popular games of the Hos.

- (1) Chhur or *Dandā*.
- (2) Sēkar
- (3) Kānju
- (4) Kāsā
- (5) Hotā-dāndā
- (6) Tukāodāndā
- (7) Kulāo-chāl
- (8) Landāpati
- (9) Māli-inum on land
- (10) Māli-inum in water
- (11) Kuidinum
- (12) Gaigai inum
- (13) Bāgā
- (14) Cockfight.

(1) *Chhur* :—This game resembles the *Dāriā-bandha* played in villages of Bengal. A court is drawn on the ground by scratching parallel lines as shown in the accompanying diagram. The number of parallel lines limits the number of players. The players divide themselves into two parties of equal strength and a crude form of lottery is made which decides which party should defend first. The furthest portion above the last line is the goal and if any member of the attacking party

can come back to the place of starting after reaching the goal without being touched by any member of the defending party who stand on guard in the lines, the game is won. If any of the members is caught, when running through the court, the party has to change places and there is no score on the offensive side. The game is very interesting and is the most popular game played by the Hos. This game is also played by the Mundas of the Chotanagpur plateau. *

(2) *Sekar* :—Sekar means a top. This is the popular game of spinning the top; a string is wound round the stem of the top which is made to spin on its point by pressing it against the ground.

(3) *Kanju* :—This game also has its analogue in Bengal. A hole is made in the ground and the competitors throw a stone each from a distance. If the stone falls within the hole, the thrower stands aside. The throw is continued till all but one succeeds in putting their stones into the hole. The poor boy who fails to do so has to hop from the hole to the place of starting. In the mean time the other boys continue to throw the stones into the same hole. and when any player fails to send his stone into the goal, the first boy is allowed to stop hopping and the new offender takes his place.

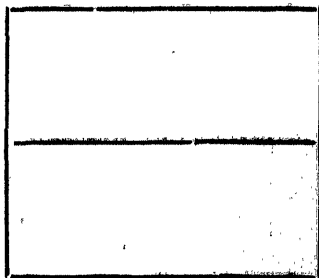
(4) *Kasa* :—Instead of a hole, a stick is fixed at a distance when the boys throw stones at the stick. The boy who does not succeed has to hop on one leg from the place of starting to the post,

* *Vide*. S. C. Roy. Mundas and their country, page 491.

the other boys throwing the stones continually, but, if the latter fail, the boy ceases hopping.

(5) *Hotādandā*:—The players come furnished with sticks and one of the boys collects them together, after which he lets slip all of them behind his back. The sticks fall one upon the other, and the owner of the stick which lies at the bottom of the heap, has to place it in front of him. The players then rally round the stick and try to move it away from its place, the owner guarding it all the while, his business being to touch a player while striking it. If he can touch one of the players in the process of striking the stick, the latter has to stand aside and is regarded as 'dead'. The poking is continued till all the players stand aside and the poor boy has to carry the stick on his head, without touching with the hands, to the place of starting. If he lets the stick slip from his head the same game is repeated.

(6) *Tukāōdandā*:—A rectangular area is scratched on the ground and lines drawn bisecting the two sides of the rectangle as shown in the accompanying diagram. The players divide themselves into two parties of equal strength and a toss is made, the party which loses in the toss has to place all their sticks or '*dandās*' on the median



line. The players of the opposite party now throw thin sticks at the heap from a distance of 12 to 15 cubits, their object being to shift the sticks outside the boundary line. The player whose stick falls out of the boundary line comes to the heap of sticks and taking his stick under his armpit begins to scatter those of the opposite party out of the area, care being taken to shove the sticks clean over the boundary line. If the stick, however, remains half outside and half inside, he loses his chance and is regarded as 'dead' by his partners and the next man of the party takes up his position. If all the sticks are thus thrown outside, then the party is said to score one game, but if all the members are 'dead' before the sticks can be removed from the area, the party loses and the latter has to place the sticks on the median line to enable the other party to try their chance. Before the players begin the game, they make an agreement between themselves that whichever party scores 2 or 4 games will be awarded the palm of victory. So when one party scores the agreed number, the other party has to place the sticks against each other in a slanting position so that they intersect one another at their tops. There sticks a now designated 'astras'. Now one of the vanquished party measures 23 steps from the 'Astras' whereupon the players of the winning party throw their sticks against the 'astras'. Here also the sticks have to be hit so as to be thrown out of the area marked.

(7) *Kulāochāl* :—This is an intelligent game played by two persons;—it resembles the "Shola-

guti bāg-chāl" of Bengal. As its principle is a bit difficult, boys are seldom found playing the game; it is the elderly people who indulge in it. A quadrilateral diagram is drawn with chalk on the ground. The diagonal is intersected by three equidistant parallel lines drawn within it perpendicularly and three horizontally. Two lines are then drawn diagonally so as to intersect each other at the centre of the diagram. Finally the middle points of each of the sides of the quadrilateral are joined by four straight lines. A 'guti' or small piece of stone or similar other substance is placed at each of the twenty points of junction of the three horizontal lines with the three perpendicular lines and with the four sides of the quadrilateral. Two persons sit face to face on two sides of the diagram. The units or 'gutis' as they are called are 24 in number of which 4 are called 'Kulaos' or tigers and 20 called 'meroms' or goats. One party takes the tigers, the other party the 'meroms', and the duty of the latter is to defend the 'meroms' against the depredations of the tigers. The four 'Kulaos' are placed at the four corners of the diagram and the 'meroms' occupy the other 20 junction points excluding the central point. There are altogether 25 such points; when all the units are placed in *situ*, only one junction-point namely, the central point remains vacant. The player who owns the 'meroms' has to shift them in such a way that the other player may not find an opportunity of killing them, which is effected if the "Kulao" gets a position after crossing one of the 'meroms'. The game continues till most of the 'meroms' are devoured by the 'kulaos'.

The credit is given to the player who can cautiously move his 'guti' and an intelligent player takes hours before he is defeated.

(8) *Lāndāpati*.—In this game one of the players is made a judge and he has to hold out both his palms on which the other players have to strike with their palms saying, "Lāndā pati keruid guto". This is done very cautiously, for if anybody is caught while striking, he is taken as the 'thief', and the judge blindfolds his eyes while the rest hide themselves. After the players have safely hid themselves the eyes of the 'thief' are uncovered and he has to catch the players. The latter try to reach the judge, who serves as a post, unnoticed by the thief. If the thief can catch anybody while they all try to reach the post, the latter is again blindfolded and he has to play the role of the thief.

(9) *Mali-inu*.—In this game the players collect under a big tree when a sort of lottery is made to ascertain the 'Mali' or the untouchable. A leaf is taken and a mark is made on it preferably at the end. The players are asked to draw the leaf which is concealed by one of the older boys between his flat palms, the latter being the third party, his business being over as soon as the lot is drawn. Then the boy who draws out the mark from inside the hollow of the palms is the 'mali'. Next a stick is taken and one of the players throws it to a distance, the 'mali' has to bring the stick; in the meantime the players climb up the tree. The duty of the 'mali' is to catch hold of the players.

Mali-inung in water' :—This a variety of the game played in water. The Mali is a sweeper whom a Ho refuses to touch, not to say of taking anything from his hands. So 'Mali' is synonymous with untouchable. The game begins when the players get up to the neck into water and each of them has to make a sound in the water by displacing the water with the thumb and the forefinger, first firmly held together and then let loose; a player who fails to make this sound is regarded as the 'Mali' or untouchable and he has to catch the other players who dive deep into the water. If he can touch any of his companions the untouchability is transferred to the latter and the former is allowed to join the rest.

(10) *Kind-inung* :—This is a dramatic game in which one of the players takes the role of a hen and a second player that of a kite and the rest follow the former as chickens. The kite tries to snatch the chickens from the hen and the latter has to protect her little ones from the kite either by running or fighting with the kite. The game is very simple; the hen makes a line with her chickens, she herself heading the line and the kite strikes at the hen as well as the chickens which the latter defends, striking the kite sometimes.

(11) *Gāigai inung* :—This is also a dramatic game in which a big circle is drawn on the ground and the players make a sort of crude 'lottery' by means of a leaf—as described before. The man who draws out the mark from inside the palms

becomes the culprit and has to play the role of a monkey (*gāi*). All the players have to come inside the circle and the *gāi* who has to walk on all fours proceeds to catch the players who move inside the circle, careful not to allow themselves to be approached by the monkey. The '*gāi*' makes faces at the players and mimics the shrieks of the monkey. Should a player be caught or get out of the circle to avoid the '*gāi*' when the latter pursues the player, the former has to play the role of the '*gāi*' and the latter is allowed to join the rest.

(12) *Bāgā* :—In this game, some sticks and broken pieces of earthen pitchers are required. A quadrilateral figure is scratched on the ground, and within it another line is drawn a little below the upper side of the quadrilateral and parallel to it. This line is thus the second line from the top. The players are divided into two parties of equal strength and a crude toss decides which party should take the offensive. The party which loses in the toss has to plant their sticks upright on the median line the centre of this line being occupied by a big stick held straight upwards by planting it into the ground and this is known as the '*Bāgā*' or the 'Great one'. Against each of the sticks save the *Bāgā*, the players place pieces of broken pots and the players on the offensive side have to strike against the potsherds from the bottom line. The third line is 15 to 20 cubits off from the second or median line. The players on the offence, put each a piece of

potsherd on the line opposite the second line and with the help of the sticks strike the pieces in a way so that the latter may strike against the sticks of the opposite party. In doing so if the potsherds strike the sticks on the defensive line or get out of the first line without touching the sticks of the second line, the players are given a chance of striking at the sticks again from the first line, in which case they have to strike against the remaining sticks that were not touched by them from the third line. If they succeed in striking against each of the sticks on the second or median line they are said to win and are allowed to strike a second time from the third line, i. e. a fresh game begins. But in the event of the players failing to strike each and all of the sticks, the parties change sides and the offensive party has to defend the attack as before and the play thus continues.

(14) *Cock fight* :—Whoever has walked through a Ho village must have noticed the number of beautiful cocks reared by the Hos, the object being to train them in fighting. The season of the fight begins with January and continues up to the end of May and days are fixed for the *Cockfight* when all the people of a 'pir' or two flock together to a fixed spot, the villagers carrying their trained cocks with them. Before the fight begins the villagers challenge each other and when parties agree the fight commences. A 'Kathi' or 'Suruki' is tied to the right leg of the cock and another 'Kathi' called 'Bankira' to the left leg, with the

edges sharpened and then the cocks are allowed to fight against each other, the parties having been mutually selected beforehand. The game lasts for a pretty long time and each of the cocks tries to disable the antagonist set against it. When one of the cocks is disabled by means of the sharp '*Kathi*', the game is said to be won by the other party and the cock is a spoil taken by the winner.

V. THE HARGARI AND ITS ORIGIN.

BY DHIRENDRA NATH MAJUMDER, M. A.

The word *Hārgāri* or *Hārbōrā* means the burying of bones of the dead and is commonly used by the Oraons of *Choṭā Nagpur*. After each death, the corpse is burnt and the bones are collected to be ceremonially interred on the annual bone-burying day (*Hārbōrā day*). The Mundas of the *Choṭā Nagpur* plateau also observe this custom but they call it *Jāngtōpā* and the day when the bones of the Mundās who died during the whole year are interred is known as the "*Jāngtōpā*" day.¹ It is not my purpose to give here a description of the entire funeral ceremonies of these aboriginal tribes, which is more or less influenced by Hindu ideas, but I shall only attempt to give a possible suggestion as to the origin of this annual interment. In every primitive tribe, we observe two separate and distinct ceremonies connected with the dead. The one takes place immediately after death has occurred, while the other takes place after a long interval of time, say two months, six months, or even a year. The Todas of the Nilgiri hills have two ceremonies, one is called *Etvainolkedr* which is performed immediately after death,—the other is known as *Marvainolkedr*. "The final scene in which the relics are burnt and the ashes buried, takes place before daybreak on the morning following the *Marvainolkedr* and is known

¹ *The Mundas and Their Country*, by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.

as the '*Azaramkedr*', the name being derived from the '*Azaram*' or circles of stones within which the final cremation takes place".² The Badagas also have two separate ceremonies,—the first is called '*Hasekedu*' by them and is commonly known as the green funeral. The second ceremony which comes after an interval is termed the '*Barakedu*' ceremony and is also described as the dry funeral. The second ceremony of the Todas may be held a month after the *Etvainolkedr* or after one full year or more, but Dr Rivers says that the Todas have no annual ceremony of the dead. With the Veddas the case is a bit different,—as soon as a man or a woman dies from sickness, the Veddas desert the cave or the place of occurrence and they never return to the place even after the body has decomposed.

Now, how can we explain this double funeral—the green funeral and the dry funeral of the Badagas, the *Etvainolkedr* and the *Manainolkedr* of the Todas and the first cremation and the *Hārbōrā* of the *Chotā Nagpur* tribes? The difficulty is more enhanced when we observe the Hindu funeral ceremonies in their different phases. Beyond a mere suggestion that the cultured Hindus absorbed many of the primitive rites and customs and then extended their Shāstric prescription to give the custom or the rite a higher sanction—we cannot go any further. I cannot restrain the temptation to adduce one instance of this Shāstric interpretation by the way. It is a matter of

² Vide *The Todas*, by Dr Rivers.

common observation that the so-called aboriginal people of India have ceremonies and festivals accompanied with dances—which are nothing but the seasonal worship of Nature. Take for instance the dances of the Oraons,—there are autumn dances, spring dances, winter dances and dances in the rainy season—all these suggest that the customs now observed are very primitive and can be traced to a time when Nature was a marvel, a surprise and a terror to the primitive mind. The idea of an animated Nature marking a distinct belief of the primitive people in a very early stage of their existence has been recognised by numerous Anthropologists and it is no wonder that the ceremonies and dances of these people will be associated with the different changes of season. The Kali Nauch in the district of Dacca which is held every year during the last few days of the Bengali year is nothing but a timely worship of '*Kal*'—the all-destroying Time. The essential features of the dance may be summarised thus :—During the last week of the Bengal month Chaitra, (March-April) the Hindu inhabitants of the villages gather together and find out a place of worship of the Goddess *Kali*. Next they go in a body from house to house to secure alms which every villager ungrudgingly pays and with this they meet the expenses of the *Puja*. After the *Puja*, one of the celebrants puts on the mask of the Goddess *Kali*, and decked with all the ornaments with which the image is decorated and assuming the role of the goddess, dance up and down the village to the accompaniment of music (*Dhak*, *Dhól*).

In a very large village two or more people assume this role of the goddess and display all the figures of the dance. This is said to bring good luck to the village.

Even in our cultured societies, all the ceremonies and festivals refer to particular seasons and I shall not be unreasonable if I take the *Doorga puja* as the worship of the autumn and the *Bāsanti puja*, as the worship of the spring, now personified by divine beings—apparently to draw these aboriginal rites into the circle of orthodox rituals. Even the Christmas festival of the Christians may be supposed to have connection with some primitive seasonal cult—since from this date the days lengthen and the nights begin to lose in duration. The May dance and the May flower ceremony are typical representations of Nature worship. The worship of the Nile in Egypt is based on the same principle.

Funeral ceremonies are a department of religion. Religion consists in the propitiation of powers higher than man and ethnography cannot adduce one example where the powers of man were not deemed subordinate to external powers. When man first came to earth, he came in contact with Nature;—with his very elementary intellect he hoped to control the powers of Nature; he failed, he realised the superiorem of Nature, he attributed his own psychical laws to the aspects of Nature and began to propitiate Nature with prayer, offerings and sacrifices. The idea of spirits pervading nature was applied later on; this idea itself arose from the conception of doubles. Dreams, shadows, hallucinations,

echoes, clairvoyance etc. suggested to the early man the idea of a double and this double was the soul. But the soul is not the spirit; the soul leaves the body with exception, while a spirit can live without the body, it can exist even separated from the body, but this metamorphosis is brought about by death, it is death which alone can transform the soul into a spirit. Once the spirits were believed to exist, they were regarded as friendly or hostile, and alliance was necessary with friendly spirits to guard against the mischiefs of hostile spirits. The spirits of relatives and friends were regularly propitiated by prayers and offerings whereas spirits of strangers were carefully avoided. As it is death which brings into play all these ideas it is death that primitive rites were addressed to and the first ceremonies were those of the dead, and religion began with the cult of the dead.³

So far we have seen why primitive man attached so much importance to funeral rites. Let us now see how the bone-buying festival originated.

With a very rudimentary intellect the primitive man could not distinguish between prolonged sleep and death. Early man seldom died of natural death; all deaths were accidental; so it is possible that early man could not have any notion of the gradual pining away of death; when any death occurred they ascribed it to the temporary dislodgment of the soul; they waited to see when the

³ *Tylor—Primitive Culture. Vol. I.*

soul would return and reanimate the body it had left; the body was left uncremated and unburied but their hopes were not to be realised; the soul had left the body for good. When primitive man saw that the body began to decompose without any sign of reanimation, all that he did was to preserve the bones and finally when they were convinced that the departed soul would not reanimate its material body they buried the bones with ceremonies and festivals with the idea that the soul has gone to a different land, the land of after-life. At first this burial was performed after a long interval of time; there was no green funeral the only funeral they had was after the primitive mind was tired of waiting for the return of the soul. The green funeral came to be observed later on when the primitive man's idea that the departed soul never reanimates the material body it leaves was already confirmed. Thus the second ceremony after death was the original funeral and the first ceremony now observed was of later conception.

The idea that soul does not leave the body immediatly is current amongst all primitive tribes of the world. The Polynesians say that the soul before it goes down to the realms of Milu or Wakea hovers round the body for some time. The Malays and Indians of North-East America believe that the final separation of the soul from the body it animated deos not follow immediately after death and the Australian aborigines also possess the selfsame idea. *

* *Vide, The History of Mankind*, Vol. I By Professor Friedrich Ratzel. Page 46. l. 1, 10. from the top.

The annual bone-burying ceremony of the *Choṭā-Nagpur* tribes would appear to owe its inception to the time when early man lived in a communal stage and the death of one of its members was regarded as an affair of the community and the cremation or burial of the dead was undertaken by the community as a whole. At first perhaps every death was separately dealt with but this was a heavy drain upon the communal property and the agricultural prospects of the land necessitated the postponement of the ceremony till after the annual harvesting time. Thus we get the *hārbōrā* festival of the *Choṭā-Nagpur* tribes.

VI. SOME POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS OF ORISSA.

BY SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M. A., B. L.

The belief in ghosts is almost universal. I shall narrate some special features of the belief that obtain in Orissa. Fairies or innocent spirits do not appear in Oriya nursery tales. The Oriyas do not know them. Brahmadaityas or spirits of Brāhman who died during the investiture ceremony of the sacred thread are the most innocent of all spirits that appear in popular superstition. They are good spirits and are supposed to occupy their time with prayers and devotions. When their term of spirit-life is over, they are reborn in some Brāhman family. People say that Brahmadaitya often imparts his knowledge of the scriptures to an ignorant Brāhman with the result that under this guidance the ignorant Brāhman becomes a *pandit* within a very short time. It is not unoften that a Brahmadaitya goes to the house of a Brāhman who leads a pure life, becomes his guest for a couple of days or so, and walks out of the house after revealing himself to his host. He frequents the sacred *bael* or *pepul* tree and does no harm to anybody, unless of course anybody goes out of his way and makes him cross. He often appears in the guise of an ascetic near an old temple of Siva, which according to popular tradition is constructed outside the village. Unfulfilled desires of the flesh in a previous incarnation sometimes leads him

to keep company with a woman. Even then the woman is elevated in his company, for she is given to understand that the slightest infidelity on her part is to be visited with the extreme penalty, the spirit sometimes gives her untold wealth. In fact if a village derelict gets rich quick, she is supposed to associate with a Brāhmadaitya.

Male spirits and female spirits are supposed to appear in cremation grounds, which are generally situated outside the village. Some of them appear like men and women in their proper dimensions. Others again have an abnormally tall shape. They do not generally go naked, but appear with a white cloth on. Women, who died during the life-time of their husbands, appear in a red-bordered *sāri*. Spirits are supposed to marry, and brawls, quarrels and frolics are quite common with them. Powerful as they are, they cannot resist the strong incantations of a Gunia or exorcist. A *guni* can pin them down to a particular tree or field and can drive them out of a house. A person possessed can be cured by him. Women-spirits are more dangerous; those who have left children or died with a child in their womb are called *Chirgunies* or *Pitasunies*. They emit fire that moves about the field as they hurry over it at night. Women who died during pregnancy reappear in the cremation ground with their children, they give their children suck, affect to smear them with oil and turmeric after the fashion of Oriya

women and fondle them in various ways. If anybody goes near them when they are fondling their babies he is sure to die. The spirits think that the man has come to rob them of their babies and pounce upon him. If by chance a black Tulsi tree (*ocymum sanctum*) happens to grow in the cremation ground, the spirits, that haunt it, deem it their duty to protect the tree against the skill of all Gunias. The Gunias, in their turn, combine to uproot the tree at the time of an eclipse or on Saturdays and Tuesdays, which according to popular superstitions are specially dedicated to the spirits. A tussle of strength begins and the Gunias are generally unsuccessful. Only the most skilful master of incantations can wrench the tree from the combined grip of the spirits. He who succeeds in the endeavour passes the highest test examination. He is looked up to by all the Gunias of the locality.

Spirits, in general, and women-spirits, in particular, evince a strong desire for fish. A fisherman who goes about at night to catch fish often meets with women-spirits who beg of him to give them a fish or two. If the man has the courage to refuse them and can brave their wrath, he can hope to effect a safe retreat. If on the contrary, he gives in or succumbs to fear he is gone. In some parts of Orissa dead women who have left behind them children are given near their cremation-ground *pāni-kakharus* or pumpkins which they fondle as their babies at dead of night. These pumpkins, it is believed do not rot so long as they receive caresses

at night from the spirit. It is deemed a feat of a master exorcist to take away one of these from the spirits who zealously guard over them.

In some villages we often meet with a stone image of Mahamunsia or Mamunsia. It really means a great man. This image is to be found near the Thakurani Tola. People who worship him know him to be a spirit. Often the head-Gunia of the village is placed in charge of the worship and lands are set apart for his maintenance. This Mahamunsia has power to appease an epidemic, so that when Cholera or Small-pox breaks out in the village, the villagers offer him *puja* with goat-sacrifice. Mahamunsia, when it so pleases him, goes out at night and wanders over the whole village. He is much taller than an average man. His image is sometimes placed near the temple of the goddess Mangola who corresponds to the goddess Sitala of Bengal. Mahamunsia is also known as *Kshetrapal* in some villages of Orissa.

Cholera and Small-pox are said to be caused by the displeasure of the Yoginis. Illiterate village people believe that it is useless to treat a patient attacked with Cholera, the only way out being to propitiate the Yoginis. The association of Yoginis with this disease has almost invested it with supernatural terror, and dear and near relatives of a patient often fly away from home leaving him to his fate.

There is a wide-spread belief that a departed spirit feels hunger and thirst like ordinary mortals, at least during the period of mourning,

which in Orissa with all classes ends on the 12th day from the date of death. It is due to this belief that people offer rice, curries, and even tobacco leaves and country cigars at least twice a day at a secluded spot or bush near the homestead. The spirit is supposed to partake of these in the shape of a jackal or dog when the real animal avails itself of the easy dinner thus supplied in the name of the spirit. Fond relations, occasionally see the spirit appearing in the shape he has just left.

There is yet another kind of spirit in our popular superstition. It is called a *Go-bhut* or a cow spirit. It leads a benighted traveller astray by assuming the shapes of various animals. It appears before the traveller in the shape of a Cow and approaches close to him. The traveller gets confused by its mere presence, even if he does not know its real nature; and instead of following the right track, he wanders about all the more. The spirit changes itself into a calf, a bull and occasionally into a horse. The confused traveller, misled by these manifestations, loses his way completely and sits himself down on the ground in quite a helpless condition. His deception lasts the whole night and when the morning dawns the amazed traveller wakes from his trance and finds that he has been wandering about fruitlessly quite near his destination. *Go-bhuts* are not injurious in the sense that they do not go the length of taking a human life. But in their mischievous pranks they equal merry Puck of English nursery rhymes

The wanderings of a somnambulist are also ascribed to an evil spirit that lures the sleeping person to his doom, often in the shape of a woman. The spirit gives a tap at the door and calls the person out only once in a familiar voice; village wisdom warns people against responding to the first call at night. The spirit that leads the sleeper away is an evil one. It takes the sleeper into some sheltered nook or bush and there conveniently wrings his neck. Even if by some chance the victim happens to escape the cruel death, he loses his senses, and becomes an idiot for the rest of his life.

Yet another kind of slightly, injurious spirit is the spirit of the dust storm. During summer after a very hot midday, winds are formed, and they so whistle and curl about that they rise from the ground in the shape of a cone. The cone is well marked out by gathering dust and dry leaves, that rise in the shape of a column. The spirit that causes this dust storm is called a *Khandia-bhut*. It harms no grown up man or woman. But if children go near, they are apt to be lifted up from the ground and thrown carelessly away. In this part of the world dust-storms do not occur with such intensity as to carry up boys and girls. But all the same children keep away from them for fear of being lifted up from the ground and otherwise injured. In any case, the blinding effect of a dust-storm is bad for boys and men.

Koke is another slightly injurious spirit of

popular nursery tales and rhymes. The word has hardly any meaning. It is an object of terror to small boys and girls. The *Kokē* is said to prowl about under the eaves of houses and if the boys or girls cry at night the *Koke* cuts off their ears when they are sound asleep. With the dawn of day, the *Kokē* leaves the eaves of houses, and goes up a neighbouring palm or cocoanut tree and stays at the top the whole live-long day. The *Kokē* does not take the life of any living creature. It is a great help to all mothers when they are troubled by their crying babies. It is supposed that at dead of night the *Kokē* gives out loud cries which strike terror into the heart of children.

Belief in witchcraft comes next in order to the belief in ghosts, and it occasionally causes much suffering to the innocent. It is said by some that witchcraft comes with birth owing to the malign influence of the stars. But there seems to be a contrary opinion about it. Like a bad habit witchcraft is learnt early in life and it grows with years, the woman who practices it loses all control over herself and cannot rid herself of it. The whole of witch-craft consists in a string of incantations, which the witch-apprentice learns by heart. Witches in a body go to the outside of the village at dead of night, strip themselves off and feed on human dirt with their heads down and heels up in the air. This dirty habit though highly reprehensible is not all that brings the witch sister-hood into odium. The most pernicious thing

about the witches in popular superstition is that they happen to cast an evil eye on all lovely babies that come in their way. The moment a witch sees a lovely baby, she mutters to herself her fatal incantations, with the result that the baby withers and dies within a couple of days or so. Even the witch's own baby is not free from danger on this score. In a fit of momentary oblivion the witch forgets that, it is her own darling, praises its beauty and looks straight in the face, and the fatal incantations rise to her lips inspite of herself and the fate of the baby is sealed all at once. The all powerful Gunia knows who is who and can detect the witch from the housewife at a glance. He can by his magical powers bring all the witches of the village together, humiliate them to the dust before the public and make them go round and round after their wont in a witch-dance. Witches who have been thus befooled to the top of their bent often confess their sins and make a solemn promise to live a pure life. But nothing short of this utmost humiliation can cure the witches of their evil habit. A pinch of common salt thrown on the head of a witch before she has cast the evil eye will set her blundering so that she will not be able to recite the verses correctly. Not only babies, but every good and healthy pet, such as a cagebird, a pup or a kitten is liable to fall a victim to witchcraft and has to be guarded against it. The dust broom which sweeps away all dirt and rubbish is the dread of the witches, so much so that if a small bit of it is attached to the

neck of a baby by a rag or string, the baby can go to a witch without being any the worse for it. A drop of collyrium on the left side of the head guards the baby against witches and is invariably given by the mother when the baby has occasion to go outside the house. Some say that the evil eye exists even in the mind of the parents and when they think their babies lovely and take pride in them, the babies get sick mysteriously all on a sudden.

It may be noted in this connection that the traditional belief that we meet with in the popular superstitions and nursery tales of Bengal, that witches all over the world have their head at 'Kaurikamrup' whither they fly by night on trees that move through the air at their command is not to be found in the popular superstition of Orissa. Nor are the witches supposed to fly on seives through air by night; this toning down of the popular superstition may be ascribed to the less volatile temperament of the people of Orissa or it may be due to the fact that Kamrup is quite unknown in this land. I shall now describe one incident connected with witchcraft that came to my knowledge a few years ago. A Santal family consisting of husband and wife and their boy aged about five years lived peacefully in a village. It so happened that the boy began to pine away for nothing, and the father took it into his head that his wife had learnt something of witchcraft which she was practising upon her own son. He had his suspicion only but he could not speak out

his mind to his wife. A mango tree that stood near his house for a long time suddenly died out as if smitten by a bolt from the blue; this was a deciding factor and the father gave out to the villagers that his son was pining away as his wife was practising her witchcraft on him. A *gunia* was called, and the *gunia* while uttering his incantations threw some mustard seeds on the head of the wife. The woman winced in pain and made her confession by bits. She confessed herself a witch and showed her precious substances—human hair and nails in an earthen pot buried deep beneath a cross-road. She vowed to give up her evil practice and some sort of reconciliation was patched up between the husband and the wife. But the cloud between the husband and the wife never lifted, and after a short while the husband gave up his wife and went away elsewhere with his son. So a happy home was broken up owing to witchcraft.

This account of ghosts and witches will not be complete if we do not say something about the *gunias*. They can lay a ghost and teach the witches a lesson which they cannot easily forget. Over and above these, they are supposed to cure many a serious disease for which an ordinary *kaviraj* has hardly any remedy; their special province is the cure of diseases for which the village apothecary is quite useless. Dog-bite, snake-bite, obsession by a spirit and witchcraft for which no remedies can be found in the ordinary way

call for the skill of the *gunias*; the theory behind their system of cure is that all serious distempers are caused by evil spirits and hence they can be cured by incantations. The *gunias* are also widely consulted during an epidemic outbreak of Cholera or Small-pox. It is believed also that the *gunias* can by their magical powers kill a person. All that they have to do is to take a handful of dust and to put their incantations into it, and if the dust is thrown on a tree with intent to kill any specific individual, the tree, it is believed, withers out slowly and the person in question also dies a slow death. This process is known as *Bān-māra*. Ceremonies like these figure in the *Atharva-Veda* as well as in various *Tantras* of a later date. Two *gunias* often enter into a trial of skill with each other, each tries to injure the other by spells and incantations. A rival has not only to defend himself against the magical powers of his adversary, but he has also to exercise his positive powers of evil against him. The trial of skill is carried on without the parties ever coming in direct contact with each other; the *gunia* who is unable to ward off the charms and incantations of his adversary is either permanently injured in health or is afflicted with a malady that makes him bed-ridden. In the words of wrestlers he is 'floored' now an object of contempt, if not of pity, the contest comes to an end, and the victorious *gunia* is lauded by the villagers and obtains a wider clientele.

There is a current belief among the people that the *gunias* almost without exception have

to die a sad death in as much as witches and evil spirits are always angry with them for saving their victims and wresting them, as it were, from their grips. They always look out for an opportunity to teach the *gunias* a lesson and sooner or later the opportunity is sure to come. He who deals with fire is sure to get scalded, the *gunias* who play with evil spirits and witches fall a prey to them in the long run.

We will now mention a few popular superstitions connected with some birds and animals: These are indeed too numerous to mention. We will give a few as specimens of prejudices against certain animals. A vulture if it happens to fall down inside a house or if it sits on the house-top presages death in the family. The cry of the male jackal at night is supposed to be a bad omen; A mother who hears it is sure to wake up her sleeping child as the cry is supposed to affect the sleeping more than those who are wide-awake. The reason for this is that the jackal feeds on dead bodies and hardly harms any living man. The screech of the owl is also a very bad omen. If while the owl is crying he is abused in filthy language or if the turning rod of the frying pan is put into the fire of the oven, the cry is rendered more or less harmless and the omen does not tell. If the house-lizard ticks in the midst of a conversation, it is said to emphasise the truth of what is said. The people also say that nothing bad is associated with these animals. They have the power to see into the future and

they give friendly warnings to us of what is going to happen. The sneeze is an evil omen for one who is about to start from home. It is said that the dunce alone does not take warning from the sneeze. When a man sneezes, if his mother is near by she raps her fingers and says aloud, "Live long my darling". From this has grown up a curious myth. It is said that Yama, the God of Death, once took away the soul of a beautiful boy. The spirit of the boy had a strong longing for its home and it requested Yama's mother to send it back to its home. Yama's mother knew well that this was not at all possible, so she resorted to a stratagem. When Yama was taking his meal, Yama's mother had the spirit of the boy near about and asked it to sneeze. It did as it was bid; and Yama's mother affecting that her own son had sneezed, uttered the usual blessing. When it was found out that the spirit had sneezed and not Yama, his mother took her stand on the blessing of a goddess and requested her son to send the spirit back to its earthly home. In these circumstances Yama had to send the spirit back to life most reluctantly. Mothers to this day remembering this incident deems it a good omen if their sons sneeze over their plate of rice and give them an additional handful to ensure long life.

The ninth and the tenth days after a marriage are deemed unfortunate and the bride shuts herself up in her room in her father-in-law's house for these days. The day she comes out of her room

she has to show a little molasses to her neighbours and relations in the belief that as molasses tastes sweet so would her words sound sweet to her friends and neighbours, and no quarrel or bickering would mar the peace of her married life. In Bengal the whole of the *stri-āchār* ceremony on the occasion of a marriage is directed to the end that the bridegroom might hereafter be under the thumb of his wife. *Stri-āchār* is the customary rites which women follow over and above the *shastric* rules. In Bengal it takes place in the bride's house and as it is directed and controlled by her relations, it is meant to make the bridegroom as much devoted to the bride as possible. But in Orissa, the *stri-āchār*, such as it is, takes place in the bridegroom's house after the bride has come to her father-in-law's place. The whole *stri-āchār* is directed to the end that the bride would be a willing slave to her husband. She has to pick up seven *pindās* or wooden seats on which people sit while taking their meals, and arrange them in order, after they have been carelessly kicked at by the bridegroom. She has with water to fill some pitchers which the bridegroom has kicked away and emptied. The bridegroom's younger brother gives her a rap with a bunch of thorns and she has to bear it with a smile. These contrast unfavourably with the *stri-āchār* ceremony of Bengal where the bridegroom is made to sit and rise seven times at the bidding of the bride and is asked to bray out when a shuttle is put into his hand. In Bengal it is only when the

bridegroom is going out to marry that his mother asks him what he is going to bring for her and the invariable reply on such an occasion is that it is a maid-servant that he is going to bring for the mother. This bit of *stri-āchār* reminds one of the plight of the bride in her husband's family at least in some cases. But, on the whole, it is quite clear that in the *stri-āchār* of Orissa the bridegroom's party seems to have the upper hand over the bride's party.

We will relate here a few household superstitions. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is worshipped in all households. The month specially set apart for her worship is the month of Agrāhān. The easternmost room of the southern row in the house is set apart for her worship. In Karan families a Brāhman priest is not called to worship Lakshmi. The eldest female member of the family worships her. The worship is very simple, and it takes place on four thursdays of the month of Agrāhān. It is carried over to the month of Māgh, if perchance the *pūja* is not held four times in the month of Agrāhān owing to a death or a birth in the family. A plank is decorated with various drawings with a solution of rice-paste. On it is poured one *gauni* (3 to 5 seers according to the local measure) of unhusked rice. A *ser* or a small vessel made of bamboo-twigs is placed on the rice. A few rupees or a gold *mohur* is put into the *ser*. It is decorated with vermilion and a new *sāri*. This is an emblematic representation of the goddess Lakshmi. The worship consists in

offering fruits and flowers and various kinds of rice-cakes and sweets to this goddess. *Lakshmi mahatya* is then read aloud to the ladies of the household. It recounts what Lakshmi did many many years ages ago and is listened to with rapt attention. The *ser* is taken out at nightfall after offering some light refreshments to it. Women in respectable Karan families do not take fish on the days appointed for the worship of the goddess. They also do not take any bitter vegetables, e. g. bitter gourd, on those days. It is supposed that Lakshmi deserts a household if the members happen to quarrel always. No wearing-cloth or napkin is allowed to dry on the door-leaves, because it might pollute the goddess when she enters the house. The sight of ladies walking on their tiptoes is highly repugnant to the goddess. He who burns *dhup* or *dip* just at candlelight, is supposed to draw *Lakshmi* to his household. The goddess always loves cleanliness and well-ordered household. The cooking-room is an important place for the ladies of the house. In it they have to spend a good deal of their time. In every cooking room of a Karan family a place is set apart for *Barabarias* i. e. the spirits of ancestors. It is a small raised platform of earth inside which a new earthen pot is buried containing the sacred things of the family e. g. dust of seven famous places of pilgrimage, *Nirmala* of Lord Jagannath &c. The pot also contains some rare coins which have been the heirloom of the family. A bit of gold is also put into it. Before the daily food is taken out of the kitchen and distributed, the

lady who cooks the food for the day offers it to the Barabariahs or the spirits of the departed ancestors. The Barabariahs are also remembered on all ceremonial occasions *e. g.* marriage feasts or customary feeding of relations after a period of mourning has expired. Formerly it was customary with all ladies in charge of cooking in Karan families not to chew betel inside the kitchen as chewing betel was not in keeping with the dignity of the ancestors. But that custom is not prevalent now.

We would also mention in this connection a curious custom observed during Raja sankranti. The Rajasankranti begins on the last but one day of the month of Jaist and ends with the first day of Ashar. It is supposed that the earth is in her yearly course on these days, and so these days are days of feasting. No young woman or girl ever walks the earth on her bare feet on these days. The bark of the betelnut tree is extemporised into a pair of slippers which every young lady puts on during these three days. Ploughing, weeding and hoeing are strictly forbidden for the last day of Raja-Sankranti which invariably falls on the first day of Ashar every year.

It is deemed almost a sin to put the pen into an ink-pot without writing anything. If after writing out anything the pen is allowed to remain dipped in the pot, the pen is supposed to get rusty and it won't write freely. All writings in the world are said to be the children of the pen and the inkpot. Prose is their son and poetry their daughter.

The Dhenki or crude husking-machine that all the villagers use is no doubt an important implement. One day during the month of Bhadra the head of the Dhenki is worshipped by small boys and girls. The day of worship is called Khudrakani Osā. Various offerings are also made on those days to the husking machine of the family; the Khudrakani Osās are days of mirth and play for all small boys and girls. The worship of the Dhenki is supposed to ensure a life of prosperity to small boys and girls. Girls who make it a point to observe the Osā are married in rich families, and they are never in want.

Preparation of various kinds of rice-cakes is an important duty of the housewife. Powdered rice, co-coanut kernel and various kinds of grains are made into a paste and the paste is then made into shape and boiled in steam. It is believed that the cakes won't boil nicely if they are touched by a woman who has not changed her cloth after coming from the privy or who is otherwise unclean. This superstition is meant to ensure utmost cleanliness of the kitchen.

The curry stones have also a peculiar superstition about them. A man who breaks them accidentally is considered an unlucky person. The smaller curry stone which is used as pestle is worshipped on the sixth day after the birth of a child in *Sathi Ghar* or *Sasthi Ghar*. It is covered with a piece of yellow cloth and placed in a spot marked out by earth and decorated with twenty-

one pieces of *kauries*. A steel stylo and a piece of palm-leaf is also placed inside the *Sathighar*. On this palm leaf the horoscope of the child is written out by the astrologer on the twelfth day after its birth; the pestle-stone is worshipped on the sixth day after birth by seven married women as *sasthi* and rice-cakes with fruit and flowers are offered to it. The ceremonies that lead up to *Sasthi ghar* commences on the fourth day after birth. This is called *Dudhatāran*. On that day seven married women prepare a peculiar kind of food consisting of rice, sugar and milk, by boiling them together in proper proportions. They take it out and make ovations to it. It is said that this ceremony increases the milk of the mother. The next day, that is the fifth day after birth, the grandfather of the baby makes a rope with *Tandi* or *Bena* grass while chewing fried rice. This is called *Hensuāti*; the rope is then worshipped by seven married women, and fried rice, molasses, and sweets are offered to it. It is said that *Hensuāti* worship gives the child a long lease of life. While the grass is being made into rope, fried rice, sweets etc. are freely distributed to neighbours. The last or final ceremony in connection with the birth of a child takes place on the 21st day after birth. It is a day of feasting, the maternal uncle of the boy sends presents according to his means. At night *Satya Narain puja* is performed and the child is brought out and blessed by all relations present on the spot.

The Sun and the Moon have been ever the objects of worship. Their worship to this day obtains

among some aboriginal tribes e. g. the Santals. Somehow or other, the worship of the moon has almost completely disappeared among the Hindus of Orissa. Children however to this day call the moon their *mānu* or maternal uncle and the full-moon after the *Durgapuja* is set apart for the worship. Unmarried girls all over Orissa worship the moon on *Kuarpuṇami* night. The worship is held with great jubilation and feasting. Rich parents spend lavishly on the occasion and every unmarried girl, however poor her parents may be, gets a piece of new cloth on the occasion. The worship is however very simple.

The moment the moon rises, the sacred basil tree is worshipped by a Brahman. All the unmarried girls of the family come out to the basil tree and offer *Argha* to the moon. Fried rice, the kernel of co-coanut finely scraped out, ripe plantains and sugar are made into a thick mixture and offered to the Moon on *jhinga* leaves. It is popularly supposed that the moon ensures good bridegrooms for all girls who do the worship on *Kuarpuṇima* night. The flowers of *Jhinga* are the favourite of the Moon. Girls make it a point to offer these flowers to the Moon at the time of worship. These flowers naturally bloom just at sun-set and their bright yellow colour might have recommended them as the favourite flower of the moon. *Kuarpuṇima puja* is held with great eclat in Brāhman families of Puri town. It is invariably observed in all Karan families throughout Orissa. Other castes also celebrate the moon on *Kuarpuṇima*.

It is widely believed that medicinal herbs, and plants have a spirit their own, which has to be appeased at the time of uprooting if the medicine is to have the desired efficacy. *Gunis* when they uproot any medicinal drug offer *Argha* to the spirit of the herb. The same idea leads the man who sets fire to a brick-kiln to worship the spirit of the earth, who if unappeased by prayer and praise, makes the bricks bad and half-burnt. It is also supposed that some sort of atonement should be made by the burner of a kiln as he causes pain to the earth-spirits. So also when a virgin forest has to be cut, the first batch of hewers offer *pūja* to the spirit of the wood. If the spirit of the forest is angry, it causes mortality among the workers by dangerous animals. There is a goddess called Bag-Mangrela, a block of rough unhewn stone smeared with vermilion set up near the wood. She is the presiding goddess of tigers. If she is appeased by proper *pūja*, she saves the man that goes to the forest from the attack of tigers. Those who go far hunting also offers *pūja* to a goddess that presides over all games, through her high-priest, the Dehuri of the Savar caste, she ensures to those who offer her *pūja*, quite a decent bag within a short time.

We have a strange superstition against extinguishing fires. When a house is on fire, the fire god Brahmā is supposed to be angry with the owners thereof. Those who stand on his way by attempting to extinguish the fire, incur the risk of having their own houses burnt down. It is for this reason that superstitious people——fortunately their

number is not large—never go to put out a fire which has broken out in the houses of a neighbour. If some furniture, utensils and other household articles are saved which bear a very poor proportion to the total number of articles destroyed, they are thrown into the fire to appease the wrath of Brahmā, who evidently set his heart after burning down the house with all the articles it contained. If this is not done, it is believed, that the house, reconstructed, would surely catch fire soon. When a house has been burnt down completely it is customary to offer *pūjā* to Brahmā before the reconstruction is taken in hand, for a calamity of such a magnitude is caused by the wrath of Brahmā who has to be worshipped in order that the new house might be safe against an outbreak of fire.

The bird *kajalputi* (*Phingā* in Bengali) is supposed to welcome the dawn before any other bird, is awake. It is a small black bird that never lives in a flock. It is supposed that the bird is so revengeful that if anybody robs its nest it follows him home, takes a half-burnt chip of wood from an oven and sets fire to his thatch. There is nothing in the life of this bird to credit it with this degree of intelligence. If this superstition is meant to stop the predatory instincts of boys, it is well and good.

There are various kinds of ordeals prevalent in this country. In order to detect a theft the names of suspects are written on pieces of paper which are burnt. The ashes are then taken between the palms of the hand and rubbed. It is supposed

that only the thief's name in the ash sticks to the palm of the hand and the crime is thereby detected. A small brass cup is placed in some unhusked rice and the name of each of the suspects is uttered with proper incantations before the cup. The cup is supposed to turn a little only when the name of the thief is mentioned. The most interesting of all the ordeals is what is called *Nalchala*. A bamboo of *Taral* or *Saral* variety is cut with one stroke from the eastern side of a clump either on a Saturday or a Tuesday. It is then cleared of knots and split into two. Only five cubits of the two halves are selected and the rest is thrown away. These two sticks are jointly called *Nal*. A man who wants to make test by this ordeal invites the *Nal*-driver to his house. Before the *Nal* starts, it is worshipped with a piece of copper, *Tulsileaves*, and flowers. Two boys of the age of five to ten are selected who hold the two pieces of the split bamboo close together with their hands. The man who directed the *Nal* to go, then recites the following *mantras* at intervals and occasionally pours water on the sticks.

ভীষ্ম বইলে পার্বতী চাঁহি

নল আনি দবু মোর ঠাই ॥

আস্থন আস্থ কার দুহায়

হর পার্বতীর দুহায় ॥

চাঁদসূর্য্য অহিলে রখে

মুনল, যরই সফলহন্তে ॥

সফল মুণি দেলে বর

আহে নল আপনা স্তখে শীঘ্র চল ॥

চল ন চল বলি কাহার দুহায়

রাজা রামচন্দ্রের দুহায় ॥

আহে নল আপনা সুখে শীঘ্র চল
চল ন চল বলি কাহার দুহায়
সীতা লক্ষ্মণ বীর হনুমনের দুহায় ॥

Bhishma said to Pārhati, looking at her "Bring me the *nal*, whether you bring it or not I adjure you in the name of Hara Pārhati. The Sun and the Moon have come in chariots and I have caught hold of the *Nal* successfully. Sufal Muni has blessed, O, Nala go with ease. Whether you go or not, I adjure you by the name of Raja Ramchandra O, Nala, go with ease. Whether you go or not, I adjure you by the name of Sita, Lakshman and Bir Hanuman."

The boys who carry the *Nal* say that they really feel impelled by it to go in a particular direction. There is a belief also that *Nal* does not go in the hands of bastards. As this is widely known by all boys, they naturally feel delicacy to admit that the *Nal* is not going in their hands. Generally the *nal* catches the person who is suspected the most. As rumour travels with wonderful quickness in a village and the suspected person is not left unknown. The *nal* catches the suspect by his neck. He is thus humiliated before a large audience and is constrained to admit his guilt and to bring out the stolen articles. The *Nal* is regarded as sacred. If there is a death or a birth in the family of the owner of the *Nal*, it has to be changed. When a *nal* is made to go, the villagers watch its progress with great interest.

Popular superstitions die hard. Even highly educated men and women believe them in their

heart of hearts. It is not easy to forget the impressions of childhood. Popular superstitions in one form or another exist in every part of the globe. Poets and philosophers picture the brotherhood of man in days to come. Those who know man as he is, find him the same all over the world. Photographic realities of man have strong marks of brotherhood. It is only where pride or prejudice distorts the pictures that man appears to be either a god or a devil.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I. THREE SPECIMENS OF SANTAL DRAWING.

On the 9th of December last year, when the Santals of this district were celebrating the *Badhnā parab* or festival, I happened to go with a friend of mine to a Santal village, a little away from our *Ashrama*. As we were witnessing the Santals dance, keeping time with the music of their instrument, my attention was drawn to some designs on the walls of one of their small but clean houses. It roused my curiosity and I approached to examine them. On close examination, I found them to be the primitive drawings of these Santal people. I asked the men who were standing near by to explain to us the nature of those drawings. They nodded their heads and remarked that they were drawn by their women-folk, and that the art was known only to their women. They pleaded their own ignorance about those designs. One *Manjhi* answered in good humour that those designs were their pictures and that they could be compared favourably with our pictures.

On carefully examining these primitive designs of the Santals, we find that they are similar to the Bengali domestic designs, namely, *Alpanā*. The women in every Bengali home, on auspicious occasions, draw some designs with their fingers, which pass by the name of *Alpanā*. Dr.

A. Tagore has done a good service by making a compilation of those simple drawings. I venture to say that these primitive Santal designs may be grouped in the same class as our *Alpanās*. Both designs are the productions of women-folk. Males are quite ignorant of the art. It has been well-said by Dr. A. Tagore that, while a young Bengali girl will draw with ease any design with her fingers, her elder brother will not be able to draw even a straight line. I group these Santal designs and *Alpanās* in the same class.

PHANINDRA NATH BOSE, M. A.
(*Shantiniketan.*)

II. CRAB IN THE PANCHATANTRA.

On page 168, *Man in India*, Vol IV, Nos. 3 & 4, September - December 1924, I mentioned only one 'crab' story as being found in the *Panchatantra*. There are two more in which the crab occurs. In the first it advises a pair of disconsolate storks whose fledglings were, time and again, swallowed by a snake, as to how best to get rid of it. The male stork follows the advice and strews fish right from the burrow of the mongoose to the hiding-place of the snake. The mongoose goes along that path, feasting on the fish till it comes to the snake's place and kills it. In the second story the crab saves the life of a Brāhman by killing a snake. When a Brāhman youth started on a journey, his mother,

bidding him not to go alone, gave a crab in a pot for a companion. One day when he was sleeping under a tree with the pot by his side, a snake came out but, anxious to know what was in the pot, put its head in. The crab with its pincers made short work of him. The boy, when he got up, saw a dead snake and finding on its head the marks left by the crab, deduced how it had come to its end. He was very thankful he had obeyed his mother and took the crab home, and he gratefully fell at his mother's feet and related his experiences.

S. T. Moses, M. A., F. Z. S.

III. JANEU OR THE HINDU THREAD CEREMONY.

The initiation ceremony of the high class Hindu castes is originally called *upanayan* and means "Taking near, or to, the preceptor with the object of studying primarily the *Gāyatrī mantra*". The Vedic Texts. In modern days, it has been given different names such as *Munj*, *vratabandh*, *upavit*, *Maunji-bandhan*, or *Janeu*.

Analysing the ceremony, we find in it certain prayers as classified below.

- (A) Those addressed to the spirits of the Sun, *Varun* (god of rain), Fire and other inanimate substances.

1. Oh, *Varun*, Sun, and Fire! May we prove suitable men to praise you, and may it (this praise or prayer) grant us immense happiness. See that we are endowed with great courage; may we be of use in maintaining the stability of the universe. Thou, Oh Sun! the largest, brightest of the luminaries, accept our salutations.
2. The Ocean is very grand, which receives constant supply of different waters, which fall on earth from heaven; which, if held up in heaven, are released by *Indra* and pulverised with his thunder-bolt. May these waters protect me.
3. Oh Water-nymphs! as you are the givers of happiness, [pray] grant us food and knowledge.
4. I invite *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth, whose approach produces perfumes, who comes where there is perfume, who is invincible, who is always blooming, who always wishes to keep elephants, and who creates all creatures.
5. I pray unto the victorious, omnipotent and speedy *Dadhikrāva*. He will keep beautified our organs like the mouth, and increase longevity.
6. Oh *Dub-grass* (*Durva, cynodon dactylon*) you are full of jointed stems and branches. You are thereby weeded with fronds. Do make us similarly full of a family of sons and grandsons.

7. Waters which originate in the sky, flow through rivers, or come out of the diggings (in the bowels of the earth) or spring out (of the rocks), whose aim is to flow towards the sea,—may these pure and purifying waters protect me.
8. *Varuna* the king of these waters, who comes to earth to watch truths and untruths—who is pure and purifies others, may [he] protect me.
9. The waters in which *Varun*, their king, lives, in which *Som* lives, in which all the gods live, and nourish food, in which Fire also lives, may [they] protect me.
10. Oh *Mitra*! (the Sun) and *Varun* you are fat. You wear durable clothes. Things in Nature produced by you are worthy of investigation do (you) remove our untruths and sins, and join us to good deeds.
11. Oh purifying *Som*! (the Moon) grant us good clothes, milch cows, shining gold and horses with chariots.
12. Oh God *Som*! thou who art fit for battle (brave), thou wearest splendid clothes, who art omniscient, and ever awake, such a one, listen cheerfully to the prayers of those who preside over fire-worship, set on the plank and the cup intended for holding the juice in order to purify them.
13. Oh worshipful and food-protecting Fire, be [thou] emblazoned with thy dress (flames) and grant succour to our *yajna* (fire worship).

14. Oh Fire! Thou Fire who didst originate in the Northern altar, and who dost adorn the centre of the earth, who wearest variegated clothes such as white (flames), black (smoke) and who hast been kept in the Eastern altar by priests for performing *yajnas* over which they presided,—Oh thou illustrious Fire! bring (here) gods like Indra, born in one of the three sacred fires taken from the householder's perpetual fire, known as *ahavaniya*.
15. Oh Ashvinikumārs! (the sons of the constellation Ashvini) you both wish to share the sacrifice and the praise offered to your master and, therefore, you augment his desire for the same, like the weaver who adds to his fabric on the loom. Your master kindly asks you to accompany him to the *yajna*. Like the Sun and the Moon you come and add grace to our *yajna*.
16. The very sacred thread (*Janeu*) to be worn on the shoulder which has originated with Brahmā, and which increases longevity, which is very high (in estimation)—I thus wear this thread. May it add to my strength and lustre).
17. Oh Fire! thou dost grant our lives. Kindly grant us food and strength, and carry away all demons, from us and destroy them.
18. Fire wishes good to the four *Varnas* including Brāhmans as well as to the fifth—the Nishādas. He sees them all and purifies

them. He has been placed here by the *Ritvijās* before them. He has been praised by the gods and Rishis. We beg from that Fire wealth &c.

19. Oh Fire! the performer of good deeds! Augment strength and lustre in our bodies and increase wealth, progeny, and cows.
20. Oh Prajāpati (Brahmā)! No one is able to create and hold these elements. We give thee offerings. Satisfy our desires, and make us the masters of wealth.
21. We desire enjoyment from God Savitru (the Sun). We, the devotees of Savitru, shall enjoy through his favour the boons of happiness, success against our enemies, and wealth.
22. Oh visible Savitru! This recluse is your own (child). Protect him and protect me.
23. I offer faggots to this all-high Fire. Oh Fire! Do flourish with these faggots (by burning them) and we shall obtain intelligence by the study of the Vedas.
24. Oh Rudra! We always keep sacrificial offerings (ready for use). Do not kill our sons, grandsons, relations, cows, and horses. Do not, through anger, kill our brave men.
25. Grant me long life like that of Jāmadagni, Kashyap, Agastya and the gods. Keep me alive for hundred years.
26. Oh *Palāsh* (*Butea frondosa*). You are a reputed tree. Make me as reputed as yourself—I mean—make me a protector of

men and Vedāntists, just as you are the protector of gods and yājñiks.

These few selections are, I believe, sufficient to give us an idea of the state of the society, during at least the time when the

Dissertations. Vedas were being compiled more than five thousand years ago.

They are now repeated without knowing their meaning in many cases. Ethnologically we shall now see what the wants of the early Aryans were. They wanted cows, horses, clothes, grains, fire, rain, good crops and protection from wild ferocious tribes. They also wanted gold to adorn their bodies. This list shows that they were not nude. They wore buck skins on ceremonious occasions. They had patricians and plebians among them. The society of that time desired strength of body, of mind, intellectual powers, retentive power, longevity, as well as sons, grandsons, and relatives. As society advanced, our ancestors introduced more ceremonials including the feeding of priestly men and giving them cows. Pomp and show followed in due course. They used to shave their beards and heads. Immigrations from more civilized countries introduced more and more luxuries. Originally, the Batu merely begged for rice for sacrifices for himself and his preceptors, but at present, heaps of rupees, gold coins and even ornaments are being collected for the benefit of the priests. Introduction of new words and expressions brought in their train new ceremonials. The original Vedic language became more and

more difficult to understand, and symbolism was introduced.

The sacred thread was, it seems, originally a scarf, as its derivation shows. It comes from *vit* or *vye*, to weave. The *nanajot* ceremony of the Parsis nearly coincides with the *Janeu* ceremony but the thread is a woven tape.

It is ordained that a Brāhman boy should be initiated in the 8th year of his age, a Kshatriya boy in the 11th and a Vaishya

The Time. boy in the 12th year. But if the ceremony is not performed among the Brāhmans up to the 16th year, among the Kshatriyas up to the 22nd year, among the Vaishyas until the 24th year of his age, that individual becomes a *Sudra*. He loses his *varna*. He is styled a *Vrātya*.

Maunji Bandhan includes one significant ceremony called *Medhā-janan*. It means production of retentive memory—a very important acquisition.

I have given only a few selected features for elucidation. For our purpose, they are sufficient to give us an idea of the social life of the day. If any reader wishes to study all the details I shall lend him my copy of the text

I have brought from Nagpur some photographs to give an idea of the elaborate social or customary functions of the present generation in a very rich high-caste family.

One photograph shows the *batu* or boy seated on his father's lap on the masonry platform con-

structed and decorated for the purpose. At the left-hand corner sits the son of a priest whose thread ceremony is being performed out of charity. The bower or *mandap* is an elaborate structure big enough to accommodate a thousand spectators.

Another photograph shows the lady-guests and children invited to take part in the *mātribhojan* of the *batu*, before he becomes a recluse in the Shāstric sense.

A third shows the dinner party given to Brahmins and invited caste guests.

B. A. GUPTE,

(*Rai Bahadur*).

IV. NOTES ON A TYPE OF SEDENTARY GAME PREVALENT IN MANY PARTS OF INDIA.

The type of sedentary game which is the subject-matter of this note is usually played on a plank on which a number of shallow holes has been scooped out and the holes are filled up with small pieces of stones, cowries, seeds etc. My attention to this game was first drawn in June 1923 at Cherrapunji. Among the Khāsis the game is known as *Māwkār katiyā* (going round the slab or plank). It may be mentioned that

though a wooden board in which rough circular and shallow holes have been scooped out in two rows, the number of rows in each hole being seven, is generally required for playing this game, sometimes, specially in fair days, the game is played outside the house on stone slabs. Two persons are necessary for the play and, to start with, five pieces of small stones are kept within each hole. One of the players picks up the stones from inside a hole lying in the row just next to him, goes on putting on a piece of stone within each hole and, as soon as he has done with the five pieces he started with, he will pick up all the stones lying immediately in front of the hole where the last piece was deposited. He must repeat like this till, after having deposited all the pieces that he may carry in his hand, he comes to an empty hole lying immediately in front of the one where the last piece was dropped. In this case all the pieces of stone lying within the hole immediately next to the vacant one will come to his possession and the other player will begin the game following exactly the same method, each playing from right to left along his line of holes and from left to right along the line of holes belonging to his adversary. The players will thus keep on the game alternately till all the pieces have been removed from the plank with the general result that one of the players is in possession of more than 35 pieces of stone and the other less. The game will now be started for the second time

but not by the player who started it on the previous occasion and one peculiarity will be observed while arranging the pieces. Suppose, for example, that after the end of the first game, one player finds that he has 37 pieces in his possession, then he will arrange 35 pieces in the usual way, but two—i. e.—the pieces he has obtained in excess of 35—will not be placed in any of the holes, but will remain to his credit while the game is being played for the second time. The other player will now arrange the 33 pieces placing 3 within the hole lying to the extreme left along his line, while the other six will contain 5 pieces each. On this occasion the following additional rules will also be observed:—

(a) The person that has got two pieces extra will have to his credit, all the single groups of 2 pieces that may accumulate within one hole, while his adversary is playing, while the latter will have to his credit all the single groups of 3 pieces that may accumulate within one hole while the former may be playing.

(b) The winner will have the hole to his extreme left covered by his palm and gain one piece every time he passes round this hole, while his adversary will not be allowed to drop any piece in it.

(c) The pieces that will be gathered in the hole where the three pieces were placed will always come to the possession of the winner.

These rules will necessarily vary according to the difference in the number of pieces possessed

by each player after the end of any game. If for example, we, suppose that the winner has got 47 pieces after one game, then two holes beginning from the right of his adversary along the row belonging to his adversary will be kept covered over and none will be allowed to place any piece inside these holes. The games will be continued in this way and the person who succeeds in capturing all the pieces of his opponent will be the victorious player. It is clear that the rules of the game are a little complicated and as I had to obtain my information from an old Khāsi woman with the help of an interpreter I shall not be surprised if it is found that the rules enumerated above require correction. I sincerely hope that, as a result of the publication of this note, some better-informed person may come forward and give us (possibly) a more correct and complete account of the game.

It is interesting to note that a game like this is prevalent in many parts of India. Lt. Colonel Shakespear has described a game like this among the Lushais. The game is called 'Vai lung thlan', has 12 shallow holes in two rows and is played according to rules different from those stated above (*The Lushai Kuki Clans*, 1912 p. 39,). A similar game played in parts of Orissa is known as *Kanji-guti*. One hundred and forty-five pieces are required to play this game. One piece is kept within one hole of the central pair of holes, the other hole is kept empty and 12 pieces are placed within each of the 12 remaining holes. As

I gather from my Oriya servant, the rules of the game are mainly the same as are followed by the Khāsis with same differences. In the case of the Orissa game one row of holes does not belong to one player, but the six holes lying on one side of the central pair belong to one player and the other six lying on the other side of the central pair belong to the other player. During the first run of the play no piece is to be dropped in that hole where one piece was placed at the beginning of the game. Then the rules observed by the Khāsis are generally followed with the important addition that none will be able to play with the pieces lying within the central pair, i. e. they cannot be taken out of these holes and dropped in the succeeding holes, but the pieces lying within the central pair can be captured like the pieces lying in the other holes. In the Orissa type the pieces are moved from left to right and the player who captures more pieces at the end of each game is the winner, and the result of one game is not carried over to the next to finish what may be called a set. A game of this type is also prevalent in the Madras Presidency. It is called *Omangunta peeta* (a plank with holes) in Telugu and *Palanguli* (a plank with holes) in Tamil, and for detailed information about the rules that are followed I am thankful to Mr. V. Rau of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. There are fourteen shallow holes in two rows, seven being in each row. In the central hole of each row only one piece is placed, while inside each of the rest are placed six, twelve or twenty-

four pieces. The usual rules of the game are followed and the special point to be noted is that like the Orissa game none will be able to play with the pieces lying in the central pair, but they may be captured according to the ordinary rules of the game and they will be removed only at the end of each game, and the pieces lying in a central hole are to be shared equally between the players if each of them in course of his play dropped down his last piece in a hole separated from the central hole by an empty one or the pieces lying in the central holes may belong to none, and in that case they will not be removed from their position. If the number of pieces lying in a central hole is odd, one will be left in it and the rest will be equally divided between the two players, but if it is even two will be placed in the central hole and the rest will be divided equally between the two players. It should also be noted that when a player succeeds in capturing pieces lying in a hole, he will also seize all the pieces that may be in the hole opposite. At the end of one game each player will arrange the pieces he has been able to capture in the line of holes next to him and the holes which may be vacant will be supposed to be non-existent in course of the succeeding game. The successful player will be he who will be able to capture all the pieces. The pieces are moved from left to right.

H. C. DAS GUPTA, M. A., F. G. S.
(Calcutta).

V. TERUVAN.

(*A little known non-indigenous caste of Malabar*).

In that monumental work of Mr. Edgar Thurston on the *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. VII, p. 18, mention is made of the Teruvan who is described as being identical with the Chaliyan. They form a class of weavers occupying five villages in Palghat Taluk and they number over one thousand. The writer of this paper while out on a tour to Malabar last summer had the occasion to meet some of the elderly representatives of the caste and has been able to gather that these two castes seem to have little in common between them, excepting the fact that both are castes of professional weavers. The following is an account of their advent and settlement in Malabar as given by them.

Their original home was the Tamil country called *Punthuranadu* and they first went to Malabar as retainers of their Raja who went thither to help the Zamorin in his wars against the Muhammiadans. They could not say which of the Zamorins ruled Malabar at that time. Nor is there any information available to ascertain the locality of what went by the name of *Punthuranadu*. They, however, settled in this new land and built their houses in streets after the manner of the Tamils in a village called '*Thayankavu*' near to the small town of Kaduvayur in Palghat Taluk. It was then that they got the name 'Teruvan', live in streets, a thing then unknown in Malabar, for the indigenous population never

lived in houses built in streets but in isolated houses each with its compound and even to-day they continue to live in that fashion. They very much resent their being spoken of as 'Teruvan' and while addressing them the title of 'Mannadi' or Mannadiar has to be added after their names. The Chilians have never assumed this title. It has to be said that this term is not the entire monopoly of this caste alone, for some of the Muttans and Tarakans as also a few of the Nairs sometimes assume this title. They say they were originally Chetties and call themselves Vellangur Anchara Cheri Chetties.

While they were in this settlement they know no weaving. It was during their stay here that they left off the custom of inheritance from father to son and copied the Malabar custom of inheritance in the female line. After an epidemic which broke out in their colony they abandoned their original settlement, divided themselves into five groups and went to live in five different villages and even today they are found confined only to these five villages. In their new settlements they built their houses not in streets but in villages in which each house has its own compound after the fashion in Malabar. In fact by this time they had become truly "Malayalaised".

It was subsequent to their settling in these five villages that they learnt any weaving. One member of this caste, we are told, was highly learned in Tamil literature and has composed

Rama's story in one thousand five hundred verses after the manner of the Tamil poet Kamba. While this poet was passing through a village of weavers the men there welcomed him and requested him to expound to them the story of Rama as written by him. The poet acceded to their request and learnt from them during his stay there the simple art of weaving which he communicated to the members of his colony. They readily took it up as an easy means of earning a livelihood and from one colony the art spread to the others so that eventually the caste became a class of professional weavers. Whereas the Chaliyans were weavers in their original land and were brought to Malabar by the Zomorin to spin cotton thread for use in temples (*Vide The Cochin Castes and Tribes* by Mr. L. K. Anantha-krishna Aiyar—Vol. II. p. 116), the Teruvans, we are informed, took to weaving long after their settling in Malabar.

They worship Bhagavatī as their Supreme Deity. In their original land they worshipped Chidambareswara as their supreme God but took to Bhagavatī worship after their settlement in Malabar. In the five settlements occupied by them there are four temples dedicated to Bhagavatī and one temple dedicated to Chidambareswara and none at all for Canapathi. They do not like the Chaliyans adore the last as their Supreme God but worship him only as a minor deity. They also worship Vettakkorumakan, Kayaran, *etc.*, like the Nayers. The latter deity is considered to be a

brother of Vettakkorumakan of whom there are twelve.

One remarkable thing that is to be noted about this caste is the entire absence of any right-hand and left-hand faction so characteristic of the Chaliyans. Such a division is unknown in their midst and the caste is a homogenous whole where the members can freely interdine and intermarry. In their marriage and funeral customs they are like the Nayars.

P. V. MAYURANTHAN, B. A.

VI. DEWALI PUJA.

I happened to be present at a Ganjami village on Lake Chilka when a religious festival was held, and I took the opportunity of attending it. The name of the festival is *Dewali puja*. On that occasion the villagers keep their huts neat and clean and make beautiful white paintings on the mud walls.

The *puja* lasted for four days in March. On the last day the four gods,—namely, দক্ষিনেশ্বর, মদনমোহন, রাধাকৃষ্ণ and জগন্নাথদেব, are brought down by boat over the Chilka Lake from the Raja's palace at Kalikota, just the previous station to Rambha where the temples of the gods are situated. The religious ceremony and other functions are performed at the Raja's palace at Kalikota and for the three days the temples of the above-mentioned gods at Rambha village remain empty. On the fourth day, in the evening,

the four gods seated on their respective thrones and placed in a highly decorated hand-made chariot with a torch burning before the gods in front of the chariot and a big umbrella held over the chariot by a priest, are carried to their temples with a big procession accompanied by beating of drums, after making a circuit through the village. The procession consists of beating of drums and dancing by young men with wooden swords and spears in their hands. These young men, as they pass through the roads of the villages, stop now and then and dance in a circle composed of about 20 young men and some of them perform various kinds of gymnastic feats which the villagers see with wonder. There are also 2 or 3 children of 8-10 years of age who wear big wooden masks and play tricks with each other. As the procession passes from one villager's hut to another's, the head priest comes in front of the door of each of the huts, where the women have kept a few mud lamps burning in front of their doors and some offerings to the gods. The priest then takes the offerings and holds them before the gods from a distance uttering *mantras*. The gods are finally placed in their respective temples which are all situated near one another. In different parts of the village, youngmen who dance and play *lathis* try to defeat the young men of the other parts of the village in their dance and mock fights—which are always associated with loud beating of drums. This enjoyment lasts up to a late hour of the night of the 4th day. Thus

ends the Dewali Puja. Unfortunately it was at night and we could not get any photographer.

K. P. BISWAS, M. A.
(Calcutta).

VII. A KURMI MARRIAGE.

[*Notes made in 1867 by the late MR. RAKHAL DAS HALDAR, Deputy Collector of Manbhum.*]

The Kurmis do not employ professional match-makers. A well-to-do Kurmi thinks early marriages best, but poor Kurmis rarely consider a boy marriageable before 20 or a girl before 12. A Kurmi father generally seeks a bride for his son; when he has heard of one, he enters into verbal negotiation with the bride's father. A Daivajnya or Brāhman astrologer who knows best how to dupe ignorance, is called, and on the names of the would-be bridegroom and bride being given, the astrologer pronounces them to be good or ill starred, and to be agreeable or otherwise to each other according to the amount of fees he gets. If the verdict is favourable, the bridegroom's friends have to perform the ceremony called *Duārkhundnā*, which is as follows: Seven or eight of the bridegroom's friends and relations go in the evening of a day to see the bride; not a word is exchanged till the following morning, when the bride's father calls together all the people of the village. The villagers put these questions to the strangers: "Who are you?"

To what place did you go ? How came you here ?” The strangers give this curious answer : ‘ We are so and so, had gone to such a place (speaking untruly) but being overtaken by a storm on the way, we entered this house. We happened to see the girl who is the pride of this domicile. If we may be entitled to a pot of water here, it is well”. The villagers say : “See, if you can approve. Whose son is the bridegroom ?” The answer being given they say, “Let the astrologer give his opinion. We would also like to know whether you intend *Bhelādāgi* (concubinage) or *Chandānā* (marriage)”. [These are unusual terms]. If the bridegroom is a legitimate son, his friends demand *Chandānā*. The guests are then suitably entertained. Two or three days afterwards the bride’s friends go to see the bridegroom during the early part of the day. After dinner the astrologer fixes the day of wedding, and on two pieces of strings ties as many knots as there are days remaining. From that day, the bridegroom and bride are daubed with oil and powdered turmeric every evening. Three days previous to wedding a *Chāmṛā* or hut of green boughs is erected in the yard of the bride’s as well as the bridegroom’s house ; a *mahul* twig is planted within and a lamp allowed to burn. On the wedding day, the *am-bihā* (wedding of the mango tree) takes place in the house of the bridegroom, who being accompanied by his male and female relatives and friends and also the village musicians, repairs to the nearest mango tope, and selecting the finest tree, is said to marry it. The tree is

entwined five times with a piece of thread which is then passed five times over the left ear and under the small toe of the left foot of the bridegroom, who stands all the while, daubing the tree with vermilion. The thread is taken off and twined round the bridegroom's right wrist with a few mango leaves. The bridegroom then prepares to depart for the bride's house, and his mother puts him this question : "Where art thou going, my son?" "To bring thy maid servant", replies the bridegroom. (This practice prevails also among the Brāhmans). The females then return home and the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's village or house. When he reaches it, it is called "duārē lāgā". The bride's friends receive the bridegroom by giving him the "*guātika*", i. e. they give a mark of curd on his forehead by means of betel-nut. The bride's brother then embraces the bridegroom, spits on him, and makes him the laughing-stock of the bystanders. In retaliation, the bridegroom presents his brother-in-law with a piece of new cloth. The bridegroom then orders the *majlis* or the assembly of elders and others and then the bride is brought there. She is presented with new clothes and loads of brass bangles on behalf of her betrothed husband. She is now carried away in a "*chaudol*" or litter for performing the ceremony of *mahul bihā*, or marriage with the *mahul* tree. Ceremonies similar to those of *am bihā* are performed and the bride is brought back to the *Chhāmra* in a *dalā* or basket. On her being lifted up, the bridegroom marks her forehead with vermillion, and the

assembled people shout "*Haribol ! Sindra dan !*" ("Call on Hari. The vermillion has been given").

On the following day the husband takes his wife home ; but in two or three days the greater number of the inhabitants of the bride's village go to the bridegroom's house for taking back the girl, and they are entertained agreeably to the means of the host.

VIII. VOWS TO PROPITIATE THE GODDESS OF SMALL POX.

Small pox is a disease for which people have no medicine. They propitiate the goddess Marai in various ways and make vows, which will put them to some sort of pain and humiliation by way of penance. Below are given a dozen ways of doing this in the Central Provinces.

- (1) To visit Maroi's temple covering all the distance in a lying posture. The vow-maker prostrates himself stretching out his hands to the fullest length, whereupon a mark is made at the spots which the hands reach. He then stands and walking over to the marked point prostrates himself again and repeats the procedure till he reaches the temple.
- (2) To go over 7 fires, moving in a lying posture.
- (3) To suffer the pouring of a thousand jars of water over the head.

- (4) To tie 7 carts together and attach the same to the vowmaker's loins and make him pull these.
- (5) To lie down on thorny shrubs.
- (6) To hold a shoe by the teeth.
- (7) To beg food from others on 5 Tuesdays.
- (8) To make cakes of human excreta, like cow-dung cakes.
- (9) To become a thief and go hood-bound to the Maroi's temple.
- (10) To mortgage the hood so as to make it unusable for the period the patient is not cured.
- (11) To let loose 5 goats or cows.
- (12) To distribute sweets equal to the weight of the patient.

Nos (1), (6) (7) (8) and (9) are meant to put one under humiliation. Nos (2), (3), (4), (5) and (10) are undergone by way of suffering from a trouble. Nos (11) and (12) are propitiatory gifts.

These may be compared with the *sādhus'* or anchorites' austerities from which some of the above appear to have been taken.

- (1) Hanging with head downwards.
- (2) Keeping always standing.
- (3) Keeping a hood always straight up.
- (4) Sleeping on pointed iron nails.
- (5) Sitting in summer between 5 fires during the heat of the day.
- (6) Standing up to the neck in water.

- (7) Sitting in the sun.
- (8) Sitting outside in the rains.
- (9) Eating grass, ashes and chillies.
- (10) Subsisting only on milk.
- (11) Keeping dumb.
- (12) Eating only forest roots.

It would be interesting to note if any other methods are resorted to in other provinces.

HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.
(*Rai Bahadur*).

IX. TANTIA BHIL.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in an article on the Bhils of Rajputana, about whom he made personal enquiries by visiting their strongholds in Mewar opens the subject with a remark that they are one of the few aboriginal tribes of India whose name at least is familiar to most Indians. They find mention in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Māhabharata*. In Muhammadan annals and in the early annals of the British, he goes on to say, we are told how the *turbunet* Bhils issued out now and again from their mountain fastnesses and committed great depredations on the plains of northern and western India.¹ In the Central Provinces they master strong in the Nimar district, where a large number were converted to Islam, though they kept themselves quite aloof from other Musalmans.

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol. X
p. 97.

They are still known as *Padavi*. The British finally suffered or conciliated the tribe, yet occasionally it produced men, even in recent times, who baffled the authorities for years together.

Some 40 years ago Tantia Bhil earned the title of Robin Hood of India. He was a notorious dacoit and successfully evaded his capture for about 10 years against an organised police force from the Central Provinces and the Holkar's dominions. Tantia was born in the village of Baroda near Gholakheri in the British Nimar and lived there till he was about 30 years old when he moved to the village of Pohkar where he cultivated land in partnership with one Saiha Rajput. Soon after this change of residence, about the year 1874, he was arrested, tried for bad livelihood and on conviction was sentenced to one year's imprisonment which he underwent in the Nagpur Central Jail. On release from prison he returned to Pohkar for about 3 months and there, through fear of enmity of Pohkar Rajputs who accused him of having seduced Jasoda the daughter of his partner Saiha Rajput, he moved to Hirpur. Eighteen months afterwards he and another Bhil Bijnia were arrested on a charge of theft and resisting the police, and though acquitted of the former charge, both were convicted of the latter charge and sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment, Tantia being sent to Jubbulpore Central Jail, whilst Bijnia remained at Khandwa. After release from Jail, Tantia changed his house to Sewna, a village in Holkar's territory, but was shortly afterwards

accused of having committed a theft at Pohkar. He however managed to evade arrest and took refuge in the jungles where he remained for about a year committing petty thefts in the surrounding villages. He was not guilty of any serious crimes till he kidnapped a brother of Bhika Patel of Pohkar whom he kept hidden till a ransom of Rs. 100/- was paid for his release. Shortly after this he happened to go to Pohkar where he was arrested by a stratagem by the police together with Bijnia and Daolia and was lodged in the Khandwa Jail. After 3 days' confinement he managed to escape with his comrades on the 25th December 1878 and again took to the jungles where he commenced that career as a leader of dacoits which made his name famous throughout India.

After their escape the three men began by extorting money from villages which they visited at night. As soon as they had gathered a band of bad characters they committed a dacoity, on 10th June 1879, on some men returning from the Khandwa Bazar. They then attacked the house of Hunmat Patel, a wealthy landowner in the village of Bhuipal and killed him. Evidently fearing the consequences of the murder the band broke and separated but in the beginning of 1880 they recommenced their course of dacoities. Bijnia and Dhoolia were captured together with a large number of others, and in all 200 persons were convicted to various terms of imprisonment, Bijnia paying the last penalty of the law and Dhoolia being transported for life. Seven Bhils managed to

break out of the Jubbulpore Jail and returned to Nimar, and this event had a wonderful effect in inspiring confidence amongst Tantia's followers who still remained at large. One of his followers having been captured by the Indore officials, Tantia now extended his depredations to Holkar's territories and always took extraordinary precautions for baffling pursuit, bringing home to the police how clever and wary he was. By 1884 Tantia extended his sphere of operations to Ellichpur and Hoshangabad Districts. Measures were therefore concerted with Holkar's police to co-operate in this outlaw's capture.

By this time Tantia had obtained complete ascendancy over the Korkus and other poorer classes. This he had done by his habitual kindness to the poor and by passing ostentatiously as their friend. He threw broadcast among them the money which he took from the rich paying them most liberally for food supplied or for any little service rendered and giving pecuniary assistance to those who needed it. On one occasion he looted the house of a rich man and divided his goods among the poor of the village. He courted popularity also by doing acts which he knew would be talked about and by showing himself invariably chivalrous and kind in his dealings with women and children. In one of his dacoities he thrashed a Brahman within an inch of his life and thus forced him to give up Rs. 100/- which was all the money he possessed and then formally presented him with one rupee in

charity because he was a Brāhman. He once met a little girl carrying a pot of water on her head; she tried to run away, but he called out to her not to be afraid and dropped a rupee into her water pot. He gave money to many people for the marriage of their daughters and almost all people called him 'Tanti Mamu' as a mark of respect. This enabled Tantia and his followers to live in security and comfort and in a somewhat open way.

At the end of 1885, at the request of Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Governor General in Central India, the direction of all special operations for the capture of Tantia was made over to him—but it entirely failed. It was given out that Tantia was a myth, a belief in which Sir Lepel Griffin shared. The Central Provinces Administration however never shared in this belief. The general people believed in something else. Looking to the astonishing marches he made they said he had supernatural powers and by putting some herb in his mouth he could transfer himself from one place to another without having to walk over. He sometimes surprised the Police officials by telling them who he was in the midst of the jungles, where they could not dare lay hands on him and, when mischievously inclined, be deprived some of them of their noses and disappeared quick like a lightening. Latterly however he grew tired of his wandering life. He was being worried by the pursuit of the Government Police and Holkar's officials. He was

in anxiety about his wife and son who had been carried off and transported. He was growing old and wished to settle down. At last a meeting in the jungle was arranged between himself and Sirdar Bahadur Resaldar Major Isri Prasad, C.I.E. of Holkar's army on the 30th of June 1889 when according to Tantia the latter promised to secure a pardon within a month's time. About 6 weeks afterwards, he received a word from Ganpat through whom he negotiated and whom Isri Prasad had taken in his service that the pardon had been obtained, and the 11th of August was fixed as the day for Tantia to come to Ganpat's house at Bener and see whether the terms were satisfactory. On arrival at the rendezvous he was told that the paper had not been received from Isri Prasad but he was invited to sit down and smoke. As soon as he had put his gun on one side he was seized and bound by a party of Isri Prasad's men who were concealed in the house. He was conveyed to the Jubbulpore jail. The interest excited all along the road from Indore to Jubbulpore was intense; crowds of people thronged at every station in hopes of seeing this famous dacoit and at Jubbulpore the pressure was so great that there was some difficulty in forcing a way from the railway carriage across the platform. Tantia was tried and hanged on 4th December 1889. Tantia in his capture had excited a sort of sympathy in the people and the Nagpur Bar went so far as to submit an appeal to the Chief Commissioner on his behalf. His photos were taken

and sent over throughout India and also to Europe and America. That this backwoodsman of a Bhil so successfully evaded the watchfulness of the ablest police officers of Local Government and the Holkar's state for about ten long years and was only captured through treachery on the part of his friend although the latter never admitted it is indeed wonderful. That a reward of Rs. 5000/- was fixed to capture this man is in itself significant.

HIRA LAL, B. A., M. R. A. S.
(*Rai Bahadur.*)

X. A SHORT NOTE ON MUSALMANI FOLK-MEDICINE.

Folk-medicine is primarily "applied magic", that is to say, it consists of the use of charms and spells for the expulsion of a special enemy, namely, disease and ailment. It is only in recent times that medical science has freed itself from the trammels of magic and empiricism. If we, therefore, study the history of medicine, we shall be enabled to trace the gradual steps by which it has disentangled itself from magic and empiricism. As Miss. E. S. Burne says, "Absurd and irrational though its methods be, they yet exhibit the natural workings of the untutored mind, and thus are not without importance in the study of psychology". *

In addition to the use of spells and charms, exorcism and the performance of symbolic rites, folk-medicine, as prevalent amongst both white and coloured races, includes also *the administration of drugs and restrums which are sometimes of the nastiest and most disgusting nature.*

To illustrate the truth of the preceding remark, I shall describe in this note, the use of the nasty and disgusting insect—the bed-bug—which is prevalent among the Mushalmans of Lower Bengal.

The bed-bug is a very disgusting and evil-smelling insect and is loathed by all men, but it is curious to note that it is used as a medicine for the cure of *piles* among the Mahammadans of lower Bengal.

A case, resulting in a criminal prosecution, recently occurred in Calcutta. A Musalman of Calcutta was suffering from piles. He applied to a Faqir or Mahammadan holy man for some medicine for the cure of his ailment. The latter directed him to insert a bed-bug within a ripe banana and take it daily until he was cured of his disease. Accordingly, the patient used to go to a students' mess in Nebutala Lane, Calcutta, for the purpose of procuring bed-bugs therefrom. But one of the inmates of the mess, suspecting that the Mahammadan had some evil motive for paying such frequent visits to his residence, lodged information with the Police. This resulted in the prosecution and conviction of the alleged

Musalman patient, as will appear from the following account of the case which has been published in the Bengalee daily news-paper "*The Dainik Basu-mati*" of Wednesday the 4th Agra-hāyana. 1331 B. S. corresponding to the the 19th November 1924 :—

छारपीकार मामला ।

इसमाइल बाने एकटि मुसलमान छारपीका चानिदार जन्य ३४ नं नेबुतला लेनेर छानावासे घोरिन्द नाथ दत्तेर निकट कयेक दिन यावत् आवा याओया करितेह्लि, कारण उक्त मुसलमानके एकटि फकिर बलियाह्लि, यदि से प्रत्यह एकटि करिया छारपीका कलार मध्ये पूरिया खाइते पारे, तबे, ताहार अर्धरोग सारिया याइवे । इसमाइलके ऐसप ३।४ दिन यावत् मेसे याइते देखिषा घोरिन्द नाथ पुलिसे अजाहार करे ये, एकटि मुसलमान मन्द अभिप्राय लइया ताहादेर मेसे आवा याओया करितेहे । पुलिसे इसमाइलके प्रसार करियाह्लि । सम्प्रति एह आवासीर मामला प्रधान प्रेसिडेन्सी म्याजिस्ट्रेट मिः रक्सवागैर एजलासे हइयाहे । विचारक आवासीके नगः ५ टाका जरिमाना करियाहेन । टाका अनादाये आवासी दस दिन यावत् सप्तम कारादण्ड भोग करिबे ।

A Criminal Case Arising Out of A Quest of Bed-Bugs.

A Mahamedan named Ismail, was, for several days, paying visits to a student named Dharendra Nath Dutta, residing in a student-mess at No. 34, Nebutala Lane, (Calcutta) for the purpose of bringing bedbugs (therefrom). The object of his visit was the procuring of bed-bugs, because a Musalman holy man or Faqir told him that if he would every day take a bed-bug after having inserted it within a ripe banana, he would be cured of the piles (he was suffering from).

Seeing that he had paid visits to his mess on three or four days, Dhirendranath lodged information with the Police to the effect that a Musalman (named Ismail) had been visiting his mess for several days with some evil intent. (On this), the Police arrested Ismail. Recently the case against Ismail was tried by Mr. Roxburgh the first Presidency Magistrate (of Calcutta). The Magistrate fined the accused Rs. 5, on non-payment of which he would have to undergo 10 day's rigorous imprisonment.

Now the question arises:—Why is the bug used as a curative remedy for piles?

I am inclined to think that there is some medicinal virtue in this insect, for I understand from a reliable source that the practitioners of Ayurvedic or Hindu medicine prepare a kind of medicinal oil by boiling bugs with mustard oil and that the essence of bugs is administered to women who suffer from bloodlessness and emaciation—which disease is called by the Kavirajas *Sutika* (सूतिका).

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

XI. NOTE ON A TAMIL CUMULATIVE FOLKTALE OF THE OLD DAME LOUSY TYPE.

In my paper *On a Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale of the Old Dame Lousy Type* which has been

published at pages 767-775 of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) for July 1923, I have dealt with and discussed two Bengali Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folktales which had not been, till the time of the publication of my paper thereon, studied and classified by European and American storiologists. These two folktales are current in Eastern Bengal and belong to an altogether new type. As the three story-radicals, which have been framed by the Folklore Society of London for these kinds of Cumulative Stories, do not fit into these two folktales from Eastern Bengal, I have framed for them the undermentioned story-radical which I have named *The Old Dame Lousy Type*:—

(1) The heroine of the tale, whose name is Dame Lousy, dies.

(2) Thereupon a bird, in order to give vent to his grief at her death, fasts for several days.

(3) Thereafter some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale.

(4) In one case, some of these latter actors are extricated out of their distressful situations.

At pages 59-60 of the same Society's *Journal* for October 1923, Mr. K. Krishnamacharya has published a Tamil parallel to the afore-mentioned two Cumulative Folktales from Eastern Bengal which I have dealt with and discussed in my paper referred to above.

The main incidents of this Tamil Cumulative Folktale may be very briefly described as follows:—

(i) A rat-king had a queen.

(ii) The queen, when she was cooking food for her husband, fell into the fire-place and was burnt to death.

(iii) Stricken with great grief, the rat-king sat moody and silent beneath a banyan-tree.

(iv) The tree shed all its leaves out of sympathy for the rat-king's sorrow.

(v) An elephant broke one of his tusks out of sympathy for the rat-kings' sorrow.

(vi) A river dried up its waters out of sympathy for the rat-king's sorrow.

(vii) A crane made himself blind of one eye out of sympathy for the rat-king's sorrow.

(viii) A hunter threw away his hunting-rod out of sympathy for the rat-king's sorrow.

(ix) A Brāhmana lady broke her cooking-pot with all its contents out of sympathy for the rat-king's sorrow.

It will be seen that this Tamil variant from Southern India bears, in many respects, a similarity to the aforementioned two Bengali Cumulative Folktales and should, therefore, be classified under the group of tales of "*The Old Dame Lousy Type*". But, in view of the discovery of this new Tamil variant, the story-radical which I have framed for the Cumulative Folktales of "*The Old Dame Lousy Type*", will have to be modified a little as follows:—

(1) The heroine of the tale, whose name is Dame Lousy, or who is the queen of the rat, dies.

(2) Thereupon a bird, in order to give vent

to his grief at her death, fasts for several days. Or, the rat-queen's husband sits sorrow-stricken under a tree.

(3) Thereafter some calamity or distressing incident happens to the other actors in the tale. Or, the other actors throw away or break something in order to give vent to their grief.

(4) In one case, some of the latter actors are extricated out of their distressful situations.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

XII. NOTE ON A RECENT INSTANCE OF THE FOLK-BELIEF THAT THE WATER-GODDESS DEMANDS HUMAN SACRIFICES.

I have already shewn elsewhere * that the animistic belief that a spirit godling or goddessling resides in rivers, streams and tanks is prevalent among many races and in many parts of the world. Even in England, it exists, at the present day, among the English peasantry.

In India also, the aforementioned custom was and is still prevalent, but in a modified form.

The modifications undergone by it are of the two following kinds :—

* Vide my two articles entitled : "On Some Vestiges of the Custom of Offering Human Sacrifices to Water-Spirits" and "Further Note on the Custom of Offering Human Sacrifices to Water-Spirits" respectively published at pages 399-405 and 589-590 of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. (of Bangalore) for July 1922 and January 1923.

(a) One form of the modification is to the effect that, whenever a tank or pond is excavated and no water comes out of it, it is popularly belived that this absence of water is due to the fact of no human sacrifice having been offered to the water-spirit and that, therefore, it is urgently necessary to kill a human child and offer it as sacrifice to that spirit in order that the tank or pond might get filled with water.

This form of the custom was at one time widely prevalent among the Santals (a 'Dravidian' race) and the Bengalis (a 'Mongolo-Dravidian' people, according to Risley) of North-eastern India, among the Marāthās (a Scytho-Dravidian people, according to Risley) of Western India and among the Banjaras (a non-Aryan [?] aboriginal tribe) of Central India.

The vestiges of this form of the custom still exist in the folklore of these peoples.

(b) The other modified form of this custom is to the effect that a human sacrifice should be offered for propitiating the water-spirit when the occurrence of floods in rivers and tanks is attributed to his wrath.

This form of the custom is still prevalent in the Central Provinces of India as is evidenced by an instance of it which occurred in the Chanda District of that province in July 1914. In this form of the custom, the sacrifice is, sometimes, symbolically performed.

From a study of these two forms of the custom, I have arrived at the conclusion that the

practice of offering human sacrifices to water-spirits was, at one time, widely prevalent among the non-Aryan aborigines of India.

It is also believed by the common folk of Southern Bengal that the water-spirit or water-goddess occasionally demands human sacrifices, neither for the purpose of granting the boon of filling a newly-excavated tank with water, nor for that of removing a flood from an over-flooded river or tank, *but simply for the purpose of satisfying her thirst for human blood*. A curious instance of this folk-belief has recently cropped up in the village of South Barāsāt in the District of Twenty-four Parganas in Southern Bengal, as will appear from the following account of it which was published in the Bengali daily newspaper *Ananda bazar Patrika* (of Calcutta) for Friday the 16th Kartika 1330 B. S. (the 2nd November 1923 A. D.):—

“बागासते अद्भुत काण्ड” ।

“जलदेवी १० ट ठी नरबलि पिपासा” ।

“जलदेवी रक्त-पिपासा—१०८ जन नरबलि चाह” ।

“दक्षिण बागासते बेल्लेडाङ्गा नामक एकटि पानीय जलेर पुकुर आहे । स्थानीय लोक एह पुकुरठीर जलेर उपरह निर्भर करितेहे । जनरबे प्रकाश ये, ये पुकुरेर अधिष्ठात्री जलदेवी स्थानीय जनैक लोकके स्वप्ने वार वार बलितेहेन ये, १०८ ठी सन्तान के तांवार काहे बलि दिते इहवे । तन्मध्ये २० ठी बलि तिनि पाइयाहेन ; आश्चर्येर विषय ये इतिमध्ये ये पुकुरे २० जन लोक जले दुबिया मारा गियाहे । जलदेवी आरखी ८८ नरबलि अपेक्षा करितेहेन । ये परिमाण बलि पाइलेह ये स्थाने अन्यान्य लोक रक्षा पाइवे । नचेत् येस्थाने बहुदय लोकह क्रमे क्रमे जले दुबिया मरिबे । एक

जन जो तांहार हात हइते रक्षा पाइवे ना । २० टी लोक सय
सयइ सुखे पतित हओयाय ध्यानीय कर्तृपक्ष ठोल पिटाइबा
सकलके सावधान करिया दियाहेन । किन्तु निकटे अन्य कोन पुकुर
ना थाकाय लोक रे पुकुरेर जलइ व्यवहार करिसे बाध्य हइयाहे ।”

Translation.

A, strange incident at Bārāsāt.—

The water-goddess' hankering after 108 human sacrifices.—The water-goddess' thirst for blood.—She requires 108 human sacrifices.

There is, in South Bārāsāt, a tank named Beldāngā which supplies drinking water. The local people depend upon this tank for their supply of water. There is a rumour afloat to the effect that the water-goddess presiding over this tank is appearing in a dream before a person of that locality and repeatedly telling him that 108 children must be sacrificed to her. She has already received 20 victims out of the required 108 human sacrifices. The strangest part of this incident is that, up to this time, 20 persons have come by their deaths from drowning in this tank. The water-goddess is waiting for the remaining 88 human sacrifices. When she will receive the said number of sacrifices, the other people of that locality will be safe from death by drowning. Otherwise all the people of that locality will, one by one, come by their deaths from drowning. Not a single person will escape from her clutches. As 20 persons have really been drowned, the local authorities have, by beat of drum, warned all

people (not to resort to that tank). But, as there is no other tank in that neighbourhood, the people are obliged to use the water of that tank.

Remarks.

This example from South Bārāsāt illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the way in which a folk-belief or popular delusion gains wide currency in a certain area and creates panic among the people of that locality. In this particular case, the belief appears to owe its wide currency to the fact that 20 persons have already been drowned in the Beldāngā tank. These last-mentioned drowning fatalities are "strange coincidences" and the causes of the great panic that has been created in that locality to such an extent that even the local authorities have been compelled to warn people by beat of drum that no one should resort to that tank.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the March (1925) number of *Man*, Mr. Henry Balfour, in an article on *Thorn-lined and their Distribution* describes different varieties of conical fish-traps lined with *calamus* thorns in use among various Nāga tribes (viz. the Lohta, Chang, Sangtam and Konyak Nagas) of Assam, and a fifth "two-dimensional" variety found among the Konyak Nagas, and goes on to trace the geographical distribution of similar traps, and notices their use among the Chins of North Arakan, the Malays and Sakais of the Malay Peninsula, the Battaks of Sumatra, the Dusuns, the Samtas and Sekajam Dayaks of Borneo, the Negritos of Pampanga in North Luzon, Phillipine Islands, the Ami coastal tribe of Formosa, different tribes in New Guinea and the New Britain Archipelago, the Solomon Islands and the Santa Cruz Island. This completely linkedup geographical distribution of the same type of thorn-lined traps, it is pointed out, "affords one of most convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and Melanesian culture at the other end". Mr. Balfour concludes,— "The place of origin of this trap is uncertain, but it cannot be doubted that all these thorn-lined traps are referable to a common prototype and form a connected series. The line of dispersal of these, coupled with that

of the 'Indonesian' loom, the fishing-kite, the use of a flexible thong in frictional fire-making, and a number of other items, helps to indicate the general line of culture-dispersal eastwards into Melanesia. The main route appears to have passed to the north of New Guinea, avoiding the Torres Straits route, and reaching the Melanesian Islands from the north-west. The influx of Melanesians into the South-eastern areas of New Guinea introduced many Melanesian culture-elements and it is probable that the thorn-lined traps may have thus been diffused there".

In *Man* for September, 1925, Mr. L. F. Camiade describes a *Primitive Vehicle on Runners* which was in use in the roadless area near the jungle village of Jadangi, Yellavaram Taluk, Godavari district in Madras. Possibly it is a survival of an ancient pre-wheel type of vehicles, still lingering in an area (round Jadangi) where "there were no roads practicable for wheeled vehicles until about fifty years ago, and to this day very few roads exist". A similar vehicle is in use at village Pollavaram, about 50 miles S. W. of Jadangi, for fetching drinking water across the half mile of sand and silt that lies between the village and the river. "The runner carriage has survived at Pollavaram, which is a civilized place, because it is better adapted for travelling over loose sand and soft silt than country carts".

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for January, 1925, Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, B. A. continues his account of the *Muduvans of Tra-*

vancore, and Prof. S. C. Mitra continues his *Studies in Bird Myths*. In the April (1925) number appears the sixth instalment of Prof. Mitra's *Studies in Bir-myths*.

The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay for the year 1925, contains eight papers headed as follows:—

1. *Some Holiday Ceremonies of the Hindus*,—By S. S. Mehta, B. A.
 2. *On the Cult of the Goddessling Kalarayi Phula in the district of Balasore*,—By P. K. Mitra, M. Sc., and Prof. S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
 3. *On the Cult of the Sonaraya in the district of Rajshahi in Northern Bengal*,—By Prof. S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
 4. *Note on the Prevalence of the Hot-Iron Ordeal in Modern Bengal*,—By Prof. S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
 5. *The Prophet Elijah in Scripture and Legend*,—By Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S.
 6. *On a Curious Mode of Worshipping the Goddess Ghandi*,—By Prof. S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
 7. *Study of Man After Death*,—By Dr. Arthur MacDonald.
 8. *Note on a Sacred Tree at Puri in Orissa*,—By Prof. S. C. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
-

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Antiquity of Man :—*By Prof. Sir Arthur Keith, M. D., D. Sc., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., (London : Williams Norgate, Ltd. 1925) Vol. I. pp. I-XXXIII, 376 ; Vol. II, XIV-377. Price 25 s. Net.*

This new and enlarged edition of one of the very few great classics of pre-historic archaeology in the English language will be eagerly welcomed by anthropological and archaeological students all over the world. Although the system pursued in the present edition is the same as in the original edition, namely, that of taking the reader to a series of tours in pre-historic sites, the present edition has been thoroughly recast in the light of the results of further research in 'pre-history'.

Among the more important modifications of the author's general views are those about (a) the early Pleistocene antiquity of the modern type of man which he now shifts forward to the later third of the Pleistocene period, (b) the permanency of the modern type which Dr. Keith no longer believes to be so resistant to evolutionary change as he formerly supposed, (c) the duration of the Pleistocene age which he conditionally estimates at 200,000 years at the furthest and adds,—“If Mr. Reid Moir is right in thinking that the true Chellean culture is founded in the Cromer beds, then this estimate must be curtailed still further” to some one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty thousand years.

"The growing recognition that what the people of England thought and did in the Neolithic period was influenced by cultural ideas which travelled westwards from Crete, Egypt and Mesopotamia, now makes it possible for us to fix approximate dates for what was done in pre-historic England". This has led Dr. Keith to add a new chapter (Chap. XXII) in which an attempt has been made to summarise the evidence relating to man's antiquity in these Eastern lands, and to note the kinds of men who occupied them in early days. Another reason for this addition is thus stated by our author,—“I was the more willing to add such a chapter, not only because our modern city civilisation has its roots in these lands, but for another reason. Like other anthropologists, I am interested in the abstract problem of man's origin and antiquity, but am more directly concerned with the concrete question of the origin and antiquity of men of our own type. Where and when did the European kind of man come into existence? All indications point to the East as his evolutionary cradle, but so far the oldest human remains found in Egypt and Mesopotamia are of people who differ from the present inhabitants of these lands in matters of detail only.” * Although “Asia with ancient civilisations in Mesopotamia, India, and China, holds out the fairest promises for students of man's early history, so far these promises have not been fulfilled. Yet everywhere there are signs that Asia too

* The book was published before Mr. Turville-Petre's discovery of the Tabgha skull.—*Ed.*

must have been the abode of early types of man". Among such evidence Sir Arthur Keith refers to Dr. Neotling's find of worked flints in conjunction with fossil remains of early Pliocene mammals in a conglomerate deposit in the Pahang district of Burmah in 1894, the various finds of Palaeoliths in Chotanagpur and the valley deposits of the Indus, Nerbudda and Godavari "worked in all of the ancient fashions, showing us that in most remote times Asia, Africa and Europe were swept by corresponding waves of culture". But of the kinds of men who shaped the palaeoliths of India, nothing is as yet known. As regards this conception of the rapidity and manner of man's evolution Sir Arthur Keith says, "I have come to realise that the 'law of uniform or collateral evolution' has a wider significance for man than I had formerly believed" and that such a law "implies that species descended from a common ancestral stock may assume simultaneously characters which the ancestral stock did not possess". Our author goes on to say, "To explain such an occurrence we must assume there was in the ancestral stock a latent bias or tendency to give rise to such characters but that the tendency did not become operative until the descendants of this stock had broken up into divergent species". As to how this concerns students of man's physical evolution, Dr. Keith explains it in this way: "We find the same structural changes taking place apparently independently—in diverse races of man kind—changes which are not to be seen in any

ancestral form. This applies to the most distinctive of all parts of man's body—the brain. In all human forms, even the most primitive of them, we find a tendency for the brain to become large and complex.

“We presume that this tendency is a common inheritance in all members of the human family. The big-brained races of fossil man may not have had a big-brained common ancestor, it is enough to suppose that the ancestor had a tendency in that direction. And if this is so, we must grant that several human races may have come by large brains long after they had departed from the common ancestral stage”.

Finally concerning racial migrations, Dr. Keith believes, “it has played only the most minor part in shaping the evolution of man....” “We cannot account for the distribution of modern human racial types as seen at the dawn of history unless we presume that they have been evolved in or near the regions of the earth which they now occupy, or did occupy, at the beginning of historical times. The more densely populated parts of the world are also the centres of most rapid evolution. We have to presume, until we can prove to the contrary, that each racial type has been evolved in that part of the world where now we find it, and have to apply this rule not only to living races but to extinct and fossil races of mankind”.

The following list of ‘Contents’ will give the reader an idea of the scope of the work:—

Volume I.—A Neolithic Community of Kent;—Neolithic Communities in Crete, Egypt and Babylonia; The people of the Submerged Forest; The Discovery of Pre-Neolithic Man; Continental types of Man during the Later Palaeolithic Periods; Englishmen of the Later Palaeolithic Periods; Further Examples of Later Palaeolithic Men in England; The Mousterian Period in England and the Men of that Period in France; The Distribution of Neanderthal Man in Europe; The Anatomical Peculiarities of Neanderthal Man; Men of the Acheulean Period; Galley-Hill Man; Pre-Mousterian Man in France and Italy; Ancient Man in East Anglia; Heidelberg Man; Is *Homo Sapiens* an Ancient Type?; Malta and the Land-Bridge to Africa; Ancient Man in South Africa. Volume II.—Rhodesian Man; The Face and Status of Rhodesian Man; Pithecanthropus—The Java Man; The Wadjak and Talgai Men; The Antiquity of Men in North America; Early South Americans; The Discovery of the Piltdown Skull; The Antiquity of the Piltdown Race; Eoanthropus Dawsoni; The Difficulties of Reconstruction; Can Fossil Fragments yield remarkable evidence of Man's Evolutionary History?; Head—Ancient and Modern—in Profile; The Brain of Fossil Man; The Piltdown Mandible; Evidence of the teeth of Fossil Man; Facial Features of Fossil Man; A Chapter of Conclusions; and Index.

To the text are added illustrations many of which are original.

The exhaustive index makes up for the disad-

vantages of the 'touring' system of treatment pursued in the book which, however, has its compensating advantages. No serious student of anthropology can afford to do without these invaluable volumes written by a master hand.

The Problem of Atlantis.—By *Lewis Spence*, (*William Rider & Son, Limited, London*) 1924, pp. 232.

This is a neatly got-up book in which the author has attempted to demonstrate the former existence of an Atlantean continent and the Atlantean origin of the civilisations of Central America and Peru, as well as of Egypt. The Cromagnon civilisation, according to Mr. Spence, originated in 'Atlantis' and contained the germs of early Nilotic culture, as well as of Europe.

Beginning with Plato's account of the lost continent of Atlantis, which he critically examines in chapter II, the author comes to the conclusion that the account is an admixture of partially authentic tradition and facts drawn from documentary evidence. Plato's chronology is of course not admitted by the author and, in chapter III, he examines the evidence from Geology and, quoting M. Termier and other geologists of note, the main conclusions he arrives at are that—

(a) The bed of the Atlantic is a recently submerged mountainous country and that there was a land connection between the Old and the New worlds.

(b) That towards the end of the Miocene age the continent began to disintegrate and two island continents the Atlantis (close to the Mediterranean) and the Antilia (in the region of the West India islands) connected by a chain of islands persisted until late Pleistocene times, and the Atlantis finally submerged at about 10,000 B. C., and Antilia persists fragmentally in the Antillean group of islands.

In Chapter IV, the author quotes authorities to prove by biological evidences and floral and faunal resemblances, that the Atlantic continent once extended from the Iberian peninsula to the West Indies in Miocene times and that until comparatively recent times there existed an Atlantic Continent reaching close up to the the Mediterranean Sea.

In Chapter V, drawing evidence from prehistoric archeological discoveries, the author seeks to prove the Atlantic origin of the Cromagnon race and the Aurignacian culture "which first appeared by land bridge in South-western Europe at about 25,000 B. C., the end of the Pleistocene age, when widespread subsidences were taking place in Europe and the Atlantic area", and "as it persisted in early S. W. Europe for many thousand years before it was destroyed, it must have persisted *elsewhere* for as many thousand years,—for as long at least as it took for Egyptian art to develop, before it entered Europe at all".

These Cromagnons were superseded, our author says, in Chapter VI., by another Atlantean invasion at about 10,000 years ago by the remnant Atlanteans

called the *Azilian-Tardenoisian*—"so called from the Pyrenean locality in which their remains were first found". These were the parents of the great Mediterranean or Iberian race which also penetrated into Egypt.

In Chapters VII, VIII, and IX the author deals with evidences for European and American traditions in support of his above conclusions, and in Ch. X, he critically examines the *Popol Vuh* in support of his theory. European traditions as to the existence of lands in the Atlantic—viz., the legend of Ogygia, the Thessalian story of Deucalion, the legend of St. Brandan's Isle, the legend of Antilia or the Isle of Seven Cities, the Italian story of "the Great Hand" (Mexican and Maya God Huemac)—and the legendary island of Brazil founded on the Medicean map of 1351, the legendary home of the Amazons, the Gorgons, the traditional impulses which finally led to the discovery of America, furnish proof of the former existence of the two sub-continent, Antilles and the Atlantis; and the similarities between these European traditions and those of Central America, the author says, points to a common centre of origin for the Early Culture of the two Continents, Europe and America.

The author's conclusions drawn from an examination of the American traditions, are:—

- (i) The many myths of flood and upheaval among the American races, and the *Popol Vuh*, all point to cataclysmic antecedents and terrestrial convulsions on a large scale.
- (ii) The legends of Quetzalcoatl and the migration of the Toltecs from Tlapallan and that of the

Aztecs from Aztlan, point to the fact that the Toltec and Maya civilisations were of foreign origin, and, like the Cromagnon civilisation in Europe, were transplanted into America from an insular area in the East, full-blown, with a ready made art and a high condition of ecclesiastical and social polity and an advanced system of hieroglyphic writing.

- (iii) The history of Tollan of the Toltecs, is strongly reminiscent of that of Atlantis as told by Plato. In Chs. XII and XIII the author points out the analogies between Egyptian and Central American civilisations as evidence of their common origin.

Our author's other main conclusions are,—

- (i) That the dynastic population of Egypt were drawn from the Azilian-Tardenoisian stock—the Iberians of later times.
- (2) The cult of Osiris and the Druidic cult and the introduction of mummification are traced to a common origin—the Iberian-cum-Azilian-Tardenoisian-cum-Atlantean source. Our author equates—

Quetzalcoatl = Thoth,
 Xolotl = Anubis,
 Xochipilli = Bes,
 Tezcatlipoca = Set,
 Ciuacoatl = Isis.

- (3) The pantheon of Mexican mythology is the shadow of that of Egypt.
- (4) Mummification and Embalming of the dead in Mexico and Peru as well as in Egypt, are strikingly similar with regard to details of

colouring and other matters and point to a common origin—viz, Atlantean.

- (5) Pyramidal erections utilised for the burial of distinguished persons in Mexico, Peru and Egypt are strikingly similar in the matter of orientation and other structural details.

Our author further infers that the architecture and art of *Atlantis* might be the prototypes of those of Mexico and Egypt.

The author next describes in some detail the great architectural achievements of the ancient Peruvians—the Temple of the Sun and the House of the Virgins of the Sun at Cuzco and the fortress of Ollantay Tampu—as the best preserved monuments of Atlantean type, and approximating to the structures of Carthage and Crete which, our author supposes, are modelled upon that of Atlantis.

That the design of the Atlantean capital as described by Plato was copied far and wide through the Azilian-Tardenoisian stock is, according to our author, demonstrated by its likeness to the plan of the city of Carthage, Mexico-Teuochtitlan, the Peruvian fortresses of Ollantay, the ancient forts of the Aran islands on the coast of Galway in Scotland, the Dubh bathan in Tuismor, the brochs of the ancient Picts of Scotland and the nuraghi of Sardinia, the talayots of the Balearic Isles which are all, according to our author, “debased types of Atlantean architecture”.

The Flood legends of the world are then briefly described. These, in the opinion of our author,

"can be referred back to a common origin". "Time, environment and other circumstances have conspired to alter their several details but not their general tendency; but it is remarkable that out of the whole mass of tradition thus presented can be pieced together practically every single detail as found in the accounts of Plato". (P. 226).

In the concluding chapter, the author says that the Atlantean race was a composite one, of which one branch was the Aurignacians or Cro-magnons, "the first Atlantean wave in Europe, exceptionally tall and fair in complexion, like the Guanches of the Canaries"; the second immigrant race was the Azilian-Tadenoisians, shorter in stature and darker in colouring,—inhabiting some of the larger islands to the west of the Atlantic,—the legendary Fomorians "arriving in Erin from the west".

The state of culture of these races when they first arrived in the Biscay region was as yet in the Stone Age, but their civilisation was by no means of a low degree, and "the Atlantis of the period antedating the final catastrophe may be reasonably regarded as enjoying a civilisation closely akin to that of ancient Central America".—The religion of the Atlanteans must have approximated to those of Egypt and Mexico—the worship of nature and natural forces; and their system of religious polity was "probably the prototype of those ancient mysteries of the East and America, which have shaped and influenced the mystical societies of the present day". "The

idea of resurrection after death was the very core of belief".

Their government was monarchical with this limitation that the heavenly powers had to be consulted upon every measure of national importance.

"Though the culture-bed of the world's civilisation is 'officially' unknown, it must have been from such centres as Atlantis that the seeds of civilisation were spread broadcast over Europe and Africa and America".

"A soil more congenial to the immediate incubation and flowering of Atlantean genius may at first have been encountered by it in Egypt and the East but the renaissance of the Cromagnon spirit in Europe far outstripped Oriental advancement".

The book is indeed a highly interesting one and provides food for serious reflection. The author's reasoning and conclusions, sought to be more or less supported by facts and authorities, can not be offhand set aside as mere imagination. He concludes the book by saying that we are only "on the threshold of the great quest for the bones of drowned Atlantis", and that, if, in these conclusions, "enthusiasm has outstripped caution, and even probability", they are due to a spirit of experiment and archeological enterprise and should not be taken as stultifying future efforts in the unravelling of a great human problem of which the author claims to have only provided a basis for further enquiries.

M. B.

The Social and Political System of Central Polynesia.—By Robert W. Williamson. *In three volumes, (Cambridge University Press, 1924) Vol. I. pp. XXIX—438 pp. Vol. II. pp. 496, Vol. III. pp. 487, Price £ 3-15 s.*

In this monumental work on Polynesian sociology the author has with indefatigable industry and acute critical judgment collected, sifted, co-related and arranged the mass of ethnographic material, not unoften conflicting, recorded by the numerous older writers on the history, geneology, tradition, folk-lore and ethnography of the people. Although the author has sought to describe Polynesian society 'as it was and not as it is', many of the old systems and customs described in the book, and even some of the beliefs, have, as Mr. Williamson points out, survived to the present day and some of the material of which he availed himself has been admittedly of quite recent collection. After a preliminary chapter on origins and migrations, the author proceeds in as many as forty-three chapters to deal with the political and social areas and systems of the different islands and Central Polynesia, or, in other words, of all the Polynesian islands excluding New Zealand and the Hawai group. The author apparently accepts the theory of a western origin, (probably in India) of the Polynesians and their passage through Melanesia into their present habitat, although he keeps an open mind with regard to Smith's theory of three Polynesian migrations, and admits the possibility of an earlier migration or migrations of

peoples who might belong to a different race.

Chapters II to XIII deal with the political areas and systems of the different groups; one of the most interesting features of the political systems of Polynesia is the separation of the sacred and secular rule in some of the islands. A second interesting feature is the division, in some cases more or less permanent, of the people in some of the islands into two opposing groups, the strong conquering party and the weak or conquered, called respectively *malo* and *vaivai* in Samoa, *malo* and *lava* in Fatuna, *malo* and *takilalo* in Uvea, and *mata tua* and *mata kia* in Eastern island.

As a possible explanation of past political evolution in Polynesia, our author suggests a process of devolution and evolution like the following. The simple initial groups would in time become larger; sub-groups would form themselves, and spread over a wide area, thus requiring more extensive administration. "Thus the duties of the king would increase; he might wish to depute some of them to another person—probably a near relative of his own—he retaining the sacred office upon which his power was based, and ultimate control over the secular matters committed to his deputy". We are inclined to regard this as a more likely explanation of the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers originally combined in kingship and the evolution of sacred and secular heads of a community, than Sir James Frazer's suggestion that it was due to the reluctance or refusal to accept the office of king on account

of the burden of taboos by which it was surrounded in early societies. In support of this, it may be pointed out that among the *Mūṇḍās* of Chota-Nagpur, there is evidence that up to comparatively recent times the village chief combined in himself the secular as well as the religious chiefship of the village, but owing to increasing complexities of the duties of a secular headman on the advent of British rule he began to delegate his secular powers and duties to a younger and more energetic member of the family, and thus in time the chiefship or headmanship became bifurcated into the secular headman or Munda and the sacerdotal headman or the Pahan.

In the Second Volume, the author discusses the social and local grouping of the Polynesian Islands. The main features of such grouping in Samoa are, (1) the household or domestic family "governed by one of its members, who was its official head, the bearer of the name of the family, in consultation more or less with other members"; (2) the village which was "a collection of related domestic families, forming a consanguine family" governed by the village *fono* (council meeting) with the official head of one of the domestic families as president; (3) the village district, containing several related villages, and managed by the *fono* of the village district at the head of which *fono* was the official head of one of the villages; (4) and, finally, the district which was a collection of related village districts, managed by the *fono* of the district, at the head of which was the official head of one of these village districts.

With regard to islands other than Samoa, information is more or less lacking or defective, but their social grouping would appear to be more or less similar to that of Samoa.

One most interesting institution of Polynesia is the *marae* or *malae* which is a centre for the performance of social and religious rites of a kinship-group. The *maraes* were "sacred structures, in the formation of which stones were as a rule used largely, specially associated with the gods or with the spirits of the dead, where religious rites and ceremonies were performed, in or near some of which the bodies of the dead were exposed, or the bodies or parts of the remains were interred, and in or near which councils were held".

The *marae*, somewhat like the *sasan-diri* (graveyard stone) of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, formed the visible sign and record of recognition of title and social relationship—a sort of family title-deed. "The family connection was kept on record when members of the group, becoming heads of sub-groups, and perhaps leaving the central home of the parent group, erected *marae* for themselves, the visible connecting link between the parent *marae* and the new one being the use of a stone from the former for the founding of the latter".

Descent, exogamy, relationship matters and terms, totemism, clan badges, chiefs, middle and lower classes, priests and sorcerers, and organisations for war purposes form the subject-matters of different chapters. Space prevents us from giving even a

short account of the wealth of material presented to the reader by Mr. Williamson. Broadly speaking, succession though mainly patrilineal, is associated with ideas derived from matrilineal descent. Thus, the recognition by the Polynesian of a social and religious superiority of a sister over a brother (at least in some islands), and the control she exercised over her brother, would appear to have been "founded on a lingering belief that, notwithstanding the development of patrilineal succession, the sister's son had, under the system, still continuing to a greater or less extent, of matrilineal descent, a better right than had the children of the brother to be eligible for succession to the name or title of the social group". "The attitude and practices found to have prevailed as between a person and his sister, his mother's brother and his father's sister respectively, may in some cases have had their origin, wholly or partly, in the superiority of the sister over the brother."

Although a number of beliefs, customs and practices similar to those associated with totemism are described as found in the Polynesian islands, Mr. Williamson finds no true totemism in Polynesia. "The main feature by which the Polynesian system differs from true totemism is that the animals and objects were regarded as being incarnations of or associated with gods, which is not a feature of totemism", nor could have evolved out of totemism. Animals and other objects were regarded as incarnations or associates of the god,

and the spirits of the dead entered into animals. Clan badges or objects and designs carried or marked on people's bodies, buildings, canoes &c, are connected with social grouping. War and 'vendetta' were also social in character, the prominent features being the avoidance of fighting between relations and the group-co-operation in fighting with outsiders.

The third volume deals with the formal administration of justice, the connection between sacred and secular offices, the sanctity and powers of chiefs; the relationship between the different classes of society, names and titles and beliefs connected therewith, testamentary and elective appointments to family names and titles, deposition of chiefs, land tenure and control, control of food supply, tribute or first fruits and cognate matters, and succession and inheritance. The head of the social group was the holder for the time being of the recognized title or name of the group. "He was believed to be invested with a degree of sanctity, varying according to his rank and the general status and rank of the group of which he was the head; and he was the natural high priest of the group, though the higher chiefs or kings had a practice of delegating some of their sacred duties to others". An interesting suggestion made by our author is that the chiefs and their families were descendants of a conquering race, now merged in the conquered. The book is one of absorbing interest from cover to cover,

and the author has placed anthropologists under a deep debt of gratitude by the publication of this excellent work.

—:o:—

The Engines of the Human Body.—*By Sir Arthur Keith, M. D., L. L. D., D. Sc., F. R. S. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London. 1925) pp. XVI+345, Price 12 s. 6 d. Net.*

The book under review is, so far as we are aware, by far the best introduction to the study of the mechanism of the human body in the English language. It represents the substance of a course of lectures delivered by the author as Christmas Lectures at the Royal Institute to an audience of boys and girls as well as adult men and women. And admirably suited indeed to this mixed audience of lay people, young and old, were the plan, method and style adopted by the eminent lecturer. All that is known about the 'engines of the human body' including the most recent advances in anatomy and physiology are set forth in their proper place and perspective, in a most delightful and entertaining manner, such as can be done only by a master hand. Although intended primarily for beginners and lay people, even advanced students of the human body will find the book useful and instructive. Students of anthropology will find the book an invaluable introduction to the Study of Man.

The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam.—*By William Carlston Smith, A. M., Ph. D., with an Introduction by J. H. Hutton, C. I. E., D. Sc., M. A., I. C. S., (Macmillan & Co. London, 1925). Price 2i s. net.*

The first definite account, though rather sketchy, of the Ao Naga tribe was published in this journal last year. We welcome the volume under review which covers a much wider field, although, so far as the ethnography of the tribe is concerned, a more detailed and exhaustive account of the habits, customs and beliefs of the people would have been still more welcome. Such an account from the pen of Mr. J. P. Mills is promised in the Introduction by Dr. Hutton. The present account of the Ao tribe is divided into eight chapters, headed respectively, I. Habitat and General Characteristics of the People, II. Personal Appearance and Artificial Adornments, III. Domestic Life, IV. Social Organization, V. Religion and Magic, VI. The Place of the Ao Nagas in the Human Family, VII. Changes through Contacts with more Advanced Peoples, and VIII Conclusion. A Bibliography, Glossary, and Index complete the volume. An interesting and suggestive introduction by Dr. J. H. Hutton, Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam, precedes the volume.

The book under review has special features of its own. By far the longest chapter consisting of as many as 65 pages is devoted to a discussion of the place of the Nagas in the human

family, and another chapter of 23 pages deals with the social changes through contacts with more advanced peoples, "the processes of both personal and social disorganization and reorganization observed among the Aos during the last half-century of contact with peoples who have moved farther along in the scale of civilization". As regards the affinities of the Ao Nagas, Dr. Smith finds that they belong to a large group of closely related hill tribes dwelling in the hilly country, on both sides of the Bramhaputra River, on the hills that border the valleys of the Irrawaddy and Salween Rivers of Burma and far into the Chinese province of Yunnan, (such as, the Akkas, Daphlas, Miris, Abors, Mishmis and Singphos of the Sub-Himalayan region; the Garos, Mikirs, Lushais, Manipuris, Nagas, Kachins, Chins and other tribes of the Indo-Burmese area; and the Lolos, Miasas and other small groups in the province of Yunnan). Besides striking physical resemblances, our author finds the following outstanding characteristics and institutions common to all these people:—(1) head-hunting; (2) common sleeping-houses for the unmarried men, which are taboo to women; (3) dwelling-houses built on posts or piles; (4) disposal of the dead on raised platforms; (5) a sort of trial marriage, or great freedom of intercourse between the sexes before marriage; (6) betel-chewing; (7) aversion to milk as an article of diet; (8) tattooing by pricking; (9) absence of any powerful political organization; (10) the double-cylinder vertical forge; (11) the simple loom for

weaving cloth; (12) a large quadrangular or hexagonal shield; (13) residence in hilly regions and a crude form of agriculture. These characteristics, our author points out, do not appear uniformly throughout this group of tribes at the present time. But this is said to be due to the fact that since they separated from their primeval cradle-land they have not all been subjected to the same conditions.

As for the affinities of the Aos outside of the Asiatic mainland, our author says that they are not only related to the other hill tribes of Assam and Burma, but that they are closely related to many of the inhabitants of the islands skirting Asia, such as the Dayaks and Kayans of Borneo, the Battak of Sumatra, certain groups of Formosa, the Igerot and the Ifugao, and several other groups of the Phillipines,—all which tribes have Caucasian characteristics such as are found among the hill tribes of Assam and Burma. Dr. Hutton, in the Introduction, points out that the connection of the Ao goes much further than Indonesia, and offers a number of strikingly close parallels with New Guinea and with Fiji, and with the Pacific generally, the resemblances being rather with Melanesia than with Polynesia, but extending nevertheless to New Zealand, and possibly even to South America. As regards origins, Dr. Hutton in a foot-note (P. 149) doubts if Dr. Smith's account gives any idea of the exceedingly complex racial origin of the Naga tribes, and says, "they are, I am convinced, the result of the fusion of about three different races, if

not more". In the Introduction, Dr. Hutton refers to Professor Dixon's analysis of the composition of the Assam tribes, in an article in this journal on *The Khasi and the Racial History of Assam (Man in India, 1922)*, and says, "the net result of this is to conclude that the Ao tribe is composed of a substratum of Negroid with Austro-Asiatic and Alpine elements superimposed, and although I do not feel convinced that it contains the whole story, it is a very plausible conclusion based as it is upon anthropometrical data, but agreeing with what we are able to infer from the historical, traditional and ethnological material available".

In the last chapter the author seeks to find out from an analysis of the changes that have taken place among the Ao Nagas and the processes of social and personal disorganization and reorganization in the tribe through contact with higher cultures, whether there are sufficient data upon which to base the formulation of mechanisms for controlling the processes of social change, so that such a backward group may not deteriorate as have often happened during a period of transition. An analysis of the changes that have taken place among the Ao Nagas does not indicate that the process has been one of "adherence to some logical or cosmic pattern, as Morgan supposed, neither has it been a matter of crowding into a single generation the achievements which have only come after many centuries of effort on the part of civilized groups in the Occident". An analysis of

the data on the Aos shows that "there has been a change in the means for satisfying the four primary or fundamental wishes" that sway individuals and communities, namely, the desire for new experience, the desire for security, the desire for recognition, and the desire for response. This substitution of means has been partly accomplished by force,...partly by suggestion and imitation, due to the influence of commerce, the British Government, education and the introduction of Christianity. In some instances the changes have been abrupt, while in others they have been gradual. In certain cases the means substituted have been of a higher order, while in others there has been a distinct decline in quality. The author concludes with a plea for the application of the results of research of ethnologists and sociologists towards directing the course of development of the backward groups of mankind in an orderly manner, thus avoiding the baneful influences which have worked such havoc in so many instances. This is a matter of great importance to which particular attention is needed not only from missionaries but also administrators and legislatures in India and other countries where the 'primitive' and 'backward' tribes form an important element in the population.

The book under review will be a welcome addition to the library of the student of Indian ethnology.

The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead.—*Vol. III. The Belief among the Micronesians.*—By Sir James G. Frazer, F. R. S., F. B. A., D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D. (London; Macmillan & Co., 1924). pp. IX+326. Price 18 s. net.

In the first volume of this work Dr. Frazer treated of the belief in immortality and the worship of the dead among the aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia, and in the second volume he treated of such belief and worship among the Polynesians. In the present volume we have an illuminating account of the corresponding belief and worship as these exist, or existed till recently, among the Micronesians. Like its predecessors, the present volume is a vast well-arranged storehouse of valuable information about the religion of the people, and particularly their belief in survival of the soul after death and their worship of the dead. As in the previous volumes, a succinct account of the social and intellectual activities, and the physical surroundings of each people dealt with is given as an invaluable and indispensable introduction to an account of their religion and particularly their belief in immortality and worship of the dead. It goes without saying that this volume and its companions will assuredly take their place among the great classics of the anthropological literature of the world.

Scientific Study of Human Society.—By F. H. Giddings, Ph. D., LL. D., (*Chapel Hill. University of North California Press. 1924.*) PP. 247.

In this book, Professor Giddings describes the strict methods that sociology can avail itself of and points out precautions and limits that must be observed in the use of each. The methods which every scientific student of society must follow, are thus set forth:—

"The first procedure is to delimit the field within which the societal experimentation in question has been going on. The facts enumerated must all be taken from within this field. The delimitation may be regional, temporal, or categorical. If it can be delimited in all three ways that is best. This precaution having been observed, we can do one or another of four more things and perhaps all of them; the more the better.

First, remembering the significance of skewed distributions of numerical data, we can compare the distributions of the facts we have gathered within the given area as they appear before the introduction of an experimental factor and after it. If there is an unmistakable and considerable increase of skew, or a considerable change in its form, we have strong presumptive evidence that a new cause has been at work. It remains, however, to ascertain, if we can, whether the new cause can be identified with the experimental factor which we are observing.

In the second place remembering that all probability is a ratio, we can ask whether our experimental factor is of appreciable or impressive magnitude by comparison with the magnitude of changes attributed to it.

A third thing that we can do to check the validity of an inference drawn from societal experimentation, if we have obtained adequate data, is to compare our ratios with the arithmetic of chance. For this purpose we must have an approximately complete listing of occurrences of societal phenomena of a given kind or of given kinds, into which the experimental factor under observation has been intruded, and

of occurrences of phenomena of the same kind or kinds from which it has been absent. Then, if in more than fifty per cent of all occurrences the experimental factor has been present, there is a reasonable presumption that it has been an effective cause of change, and the probability increases with the percentage. The probability that one or the other of two alternative possibilities will occur by pure chance is fifty-fifty, as everybody knows. The probability of occurrence of each of a larger number of possibilities is proportional to the number of possible occurrences of each.

Finally, we may measure correlations. This is a precise way of determining degree of coincidence, concurrence, or association of phenomena that can be numerically expressed in arrays of counts or measures. If, in a large number of cases, we find a high correlation of the occurrence frequencies of the result attributed to it, the presumption of causal nexus is strong.

It is by the application of these procedures to relevant and adequate data that we may hope in time to build up a scientific criticism of the enormous mass of loose inferences which we now encounter relative to the consequences of countless societal experiments which, in modern democracies, are being made in every realm of human effort.

A scientific sociological survey of a community conducted in this way would discover, record, map, and graph phenomena that are social or societal in a strict instead of in a loose meaning of the words and would ascertain and disclose prevailing, unusual, and peculiar stimulations and responses, exhibited in multi-individual behaviour; habits of association and of co-activity, especially the variate forms; common excitements and uncommon outbreaks, and their causes, persisting folk-ways, changing ones, and new ones; controversies and deliberations; cultural conflicts; group and class struggles; variate forms of leadership

and of organization; social work and societal engineering; status and its variability; the variability of coercion, including intimidation and bullying; the variability of liberty, and the clash of liberty with coercion; the variability of such ameliorations of life as security and abundance, the variability of viable departures from type; the variability of socialization, as shown by the kinds and amounts of prevailing vice and crime; and the variability of individuation and of adequacy.

The last two chapters deal with the necessity and importance of the measurement of societal energies and trends and the methods of such measurement.

Investigated in this way sociology becomes a true scientific study of Human Society.

This is a most interesting and instructive volume which should be in the hands of all students of sociology.

The Conduct of Life.—By *Benedetto Croce*. Translated by *Arthur Livingston*. (George Harrap & Co. London). PP. XIV+326.

This is a collection of stimulating and thoughtful essays in which the eminent Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, seeks to apply the fundamental principles of ethics to the various situations of everyday life. The essays are replete with practical wisdom, and various problems that arise in the 'sphere of the practical' are grappled in a masterly way. The language of the translation is lucid and perspicuous.

BOOKS FOR SALE.

at the "MAN IN INDIA" office,

Church Road, Ranchi.

1. THE BIRHORS : *a Little-known Jungle Tribe of Chota-Nagpur.*—By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C. Pp. viii+608 36 plates. (Ranchi: "MAN IN INDIA" Office, 1925.) Price Rs. 10/- ; 15 s.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., O. M., Professor of Anthropology in the Trinity College, Cambridge writes :—

.....I find it characterised by the same high qualities as mark your former monographs on the Mundas and Oraons. You have rendered a valuable service to anthropology by placing on record the customs and beliefs of a very primitive tribe about which very little was known before and which, but for your careful and prolonged observations, might have passed away practically unknown. As in your former volumes I admire the diligence with which you have collected a large body of interesting facts and the perfect lucidity with which you have set them forth. The book is a fine specimen or a monograph on an Indian tribe and must always remain the standard authority on the subject. I congratulate you heartily on your achievement, and earnestly trust that you will continue your valuable investigation and give us other similar accounts of other primitive and little known Indian tribes.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, writes :—

.....You have done a splendid piece of work—one which will make Europe indebted to you.....

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., Reader in Ethnology, of Cambridge, writes :—

.....Your accustomed excellent work. It is a most useful contribution to Indian Ethnology.....

DR. ROLAND B. DIXON, A. M. PH. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University writes :—

.....You are certainly doing work to be proud of in the studies you have published of the Chota-Nagpur tribes, and all anthropologists are in your debt. If only we could have similar studies of all the wilder peoples of India, how fine it would be !.....

THE NATURE, (London : September 19, 1925) :—

.....Students of Indian anthropology are deeply indebted to Mr. Roy for the light he has thrown on the past and present culture of the Chota-Nagpur plateau. In the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* he has opened up new ground in the archaeology of his area. His monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons* are classics. "The Birhors" is yet another first-rate study, a study not merely of an obscure tribe but also of the workings of that mysterious complex of thought and feeling which go to make up human culture.....Mr. Roy is never a theoriser or a partisan ; his diction is simple and precise, his inspiration comes straight from the hearts of the humble folk he has made his friends.

THE SERVANT OF INDIA, (April 16, 1925).

Ethnologists throughout the world will be glad to see a successor to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra's previous monographs on the *Mundas* and *Oraons*. As is to be expected, the book is first-class and deserves a place in every library where such subjects are encouraged at all. It will be found very interesting and pleasant-reading by the non-expert, and for those to whom ethnography is business or hobby, it is only necessary to say that the author is one of the very few Indian scholars whose writings are read outside India.

THE ENGLISHMAN, (July 27, 1925).

.....The researches of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy are universal among the most backward groups of savages. The contact with civilization is exterminating the aborigines and the author has done a real service to the cause of knowledge by his well-gleaned contribution. The author's interest in Ethno-

graphy is praiseworthy. No department of the life of the Birhors has escaped the eagle eyes of the author. How they live, what ceremonies they observe, what sufferings they bear what feasts they are inclined to, how they think and what is their outlook on life have been very interestingly noted. The illustrations make the book doubly delightful... We have every reason to thank the Rai Bahadur for this excellent monograph on the Birhors of Chota-Nagpur.

THE MADRAS MAIL, (May 22, 1925).

There is no science which affords more opportunity for first hand research work, and none much more neglected in India than the science of Anthropology. The author of this splendid work is one of the few faithful men who are devoting themselves to making records of the customs and lore of tribes which are fast disappearing. His works on *The Oraons* and *The Mundas* have already put the workers in that field under deep obligation to him. And his well-conducted Journal, "*Man in India*" is also performing a valuable service to the science. In the present volume he maintains the high standard of scholarship which he has happily attained in his previous works. The work contains an amazing amount of information about this much neglected tribe, and must have required years of patient labour to collect. It is made the more valuable by copious illustrations representing the people and their modes of living.

One of the interesting sections of the book deals with folklore, than which there is no surer index to a people's psychology. Primitive man lives in a world in which nothing is impossible. He has no scientific world-view which precludes the possibility of miracle and magic. The Birhor's folk tales disclose the typical world-view of primitive man, such world-view as we see still reflected in the fairy tales which our children love to hear.

It is impossible to give a really adequate review of this interesting and scholarly book. But we must commend it to all who are interested in anthropological matters and express thanks to the author for giving to the world this excellent record of the Birhors.

2. Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology, (Patna University Readership Lectures).

Price,—Five Rupees.

SOME OPINIONS.

Sir James Frazer, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Liverpool writes :—

.....I admire the range of your knowledge and intellectual interests, the sobriety and soundness of your judgment, and the lucidity and succinctness of your exposition. The book seems to me to deserve a wide circulation not only in India but wherever the English language is spoken, for, so far as I am aware, * * there is no book on the same broad philosophical lines in English. Hitherto by your monographs on the Mundas and Oraons and your other writings you have proved yourself a first-rate field anthropologist, in your new book you have shown powers of higher quality and wider range. India is to be warmly congratulated on possessing in you an anthropologist of a very high order, and I am happy to know that the authorities have had the discernment to appoint you to the first teaching post of anthropology in the University of Patna. I could envy India your possession, for good anthropologists are too rare anywhere; but I am satisfied that for the advancement of our science you are far better situated in India than you would be in Europe, seeing that India includes such an immense diversity of races and of cultures, from low savagery up to high civilisation. * * *

Sir Arthur Keith, M. D., F. R. C. S., L. L. D., F. R. S., Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England, in *Nature* (London : April 1922) :—

The Lectures form one of the best introductions into the study of anthropology in the English Language.

Dr. R. R. Marett, M. A., D. Sc., Reader in Anthropology in the University of Oxford, in *The London Mercury* (June, 1921)—* * A most learned and lucid epitome of the methods and results of the study of man, prehistoric and present, considered on his physical side. * * *

Dr A. C. Haddon, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., in *Folk-Lore* (London, Sept. 1921).—* * *The author is quite up-to-date in his reading.....The book gives an accurate epitomised survey of our present knowledge of the subject treated. Indian students are to be congratulated on having an instructor so learned, broad-minded and sane.

Dr. William Crooke, B. A., D. Sc. C. I. E., of Oxford writes:—
.....I have read your book with care and find it a very learned and interesting contribution to our knowledge of the subject.....

Dr. Roland B. Dixon, Ph. D., Professor of Anthropology in the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., writes:—

.....It seems to me that you have admirably covered the ground to preparatory statement for beginners and have presented the major facts in such form that they should be certain to arouse the interest of students, and lead them to wish to take up the study of man. We here in America labor under the same difficulties in not having any adequate book which can be used as a text book, and have much felt the need of something of the sort you have so well provided for students in India.....

3. The Mundas and Their Country.

With numerous illustrations, and an Introduction by **SIR EDWARD GAIT**, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., PH. D.,

Price—Six Rupees.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR J. G. FRAZER, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S., Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Liverpool writes:—

It is a work of great interest and high value as a full and accurate description of an Indian Hill-tribe. I congratulate you on having produced it. You must have given much time and labour to the researches which you have embodied in this book. But the time and labour have been well spent. The description seems

extremely clear and well written in the simple language which is appropriate to the theme, and the translations of the poetry are charming.

DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S., University Reader in Ethnology, Cambridge, writes :—

* * * Students have long wanted an authoritative account of this interesting people, and now you have supplied it.

PROF. SIR W. RIDGEWAY, M. A., Sc. D., F. B. A., Litt. D., L. L. D. of Cambridge writes :—

* * * A work of real importance. It is a great aid to a scientific knowledge of the races of India to have a work like your dealing with the subject.

SIR EDWARD GAIT, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., Ph. D., I. C. S., formerly *Census Commissioner of India*, writes :—

* * * It is a most valuable contribution to Indian Ethnography.

THE SPECTATOR (London):—Anthropologists will welcome this careful account of the Mundas: The first part of the book is occupied with a history of the tribe and an attempt at solving the difficult problems that surround its origins. But possibly its most interesting section is the Ethnographical one, in which the tribal customs are described in detail.

The REVIEW OF REVIEWS (London, September, 1912), under the heading 'Notable Book of the Month', writes :—

Mr. Chandra Roy is intensely interested in the task he has set himself. * * The history, accurate and legendary, and ethnography of this interesting people are given in great detail by Mr. Roy. * * *

The STATESMAN (Calcutta, Aug. 7, 1912) writes :—

An exceedingly attractive volume from the pen of MR. SARAT CHANDRA ROY of Ranchi. * * *

The ENGLISHMAN (Calcutta, July 22, 1912) writes :—

The book before us is, we believe, the first attempt to put together a connected history of this interesting people. MR. E. A. GAIT, I. C. S., the Census Commissioner, himself an acknowledged authority on Indian Ethnology, has written a learned introduction to the book, of which he expresses a very high opinion. * *

The INDIAN WITNESS (Calcutta, January, 28, 1913) writes:—
It is a genuine pleasure to welcome so thorough a study of the Mundas as is found in these pages. Mr. Gait, in the illuminating Introduction to the book writes concerning the chapter on Ethnography:—"This chapter contains a full account of the daily life of the Mundas, their dress, agriculture, tribal organization, social and religious ceremonies, folklore and song. It has evidently been written in the light of a close personal knowledge of the people and deep and sympathetic insight into their feelings, mentality and views of life." * * This book will fill a much-needed blank on the shelves of those who are engaged in a study of India's people.

The HINDUSTHAN REVIEW (Allahabad, July, 1912) write:—

The work under notice is an instructive sketch of the people, historical, descriptive, ethnological, sociological.

It is a mine of valuable information on all matters relating to the Mundas. It is a valuable contribution to such sciences as Ethnography and Sociology. The style is very pleasant. Altogether Mr. Roy's book is of absorbing interest.

The MODERN REVIEW (Calcutta, June, 1912) writes:—

This neatly printed and well-bound book is a storehouse of information regarding the Mundas and the Country they inhabit. The author has looked up carefully all available records and has executed his self-imposed task with scholarly ability. It is a pity that such a capable man as the author is, could not devote his whole time to the work of ethnological research in India, for which there is a pressing need in this country. Mr. Gait, who is now undoubtedly a great authority on the subject of Indian Ethnology, has written an introduction for the book which is by itself an interesting and instructive study.

The INDIAN WORLD (Calcutta, September 22, 1912) writes:—

The author has collected, collated and systematised the vast materials at his disposal with a care and devotion that must be the ambition of all students of history. His insight into the true life and spirit of the people is not born of dilettante interest but of close acquaintance with their manners and customs. The chapter

on the Ethnography of the Mundas is worth its weight in gold.....In a word, the book is an invaluable contribution to the Ethnological literature of India.

Also highly spoken of by such papers as the *ATHENÆUM* (Aug. 10, 1912), the *ANTHROPOS* (Jany. Feby., 1913), and the *CATHOLIC HERALD* (June, 1912).

4. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur.

With numerous illustrations, and an Introduction by DR. A. C. HADDON, M. A., Sc. D., F. R. S.

Price—Eight Rupees.

SOME OPINIONS.

SIR JAMES FRAZER D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. B. A., F. R. S. :—

The book is full of very valuable and interesting information. I cordially congratulate you on your success in collecting so much anthropological information concerning the tribe, and on the admirable lucidity and terseness with which you set forth the facts carefully distinguishing them from inferences which you have drawn from them. The inferences seem to me for the most part just and probable.

Your work on the Oraons promises to rank with the very best monographs on Indian tribes.

The *SPECTATOR* (London, Jany. 29, 1916) :—... In Bengal, at least a genuine interest in the anthropology of the province has led to the writing of books of real merit and importance by Bengalis. Such was Mr. Roy's own account of *The Mundas and Their Country*. Mr. Roy now gives a careful description of another of the aboriginal tribes of the Chota Nagpur plateau, with numerous illustrations and a map. Dr. Haddon's introduction summarises with his wonted skill and learning, the most interesting and significant of the writer's observations and discoveries.

THE *TIMES* (London, January 6, 1916) :—... Sarat Chandra Roy has given us much valuable information in this book, and we hope that his fine example will be followed by some of his fellow-countrymen.

✓
2. 50

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.